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STUDIES

Irish Quarterly Review

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DR. DENIS J. COFFEY

President of University College, Dublin, 1909—1940

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

THERE are many aspects under which one could study the life and work of Denis J. Coffey. Each would be interesting and instructive. It is not easy for a colleague to do justice to the man while he is still happily with us. He would himself shrink from any revelation of his person other than that which his activities afforded. He is unostentatious, and with his unerring sense of values, he has ever avoided publicity for his own person. I know no one more free from consideration of "place and position" in his intercourse with his fellows, though accepting as a matter of course and respecting what one might call fundamental hierarchies. I have heard it asserted that he has a rooted indifference to other men's views. I do not quite agree with that. He formed his own views always, arriving at them independently and by way of basic principles. He could not and would not alter them to suit; he could as soon change the texture of his body. I have always seen Dr. Coffey's strength to lie in a certain organic unity which makes for spiritual harmony. That quality was innate to some extent; but it was enlarged and confirmed by a steady and consistent culture—linked up, I have no doubt, with his biological and philosophical studies and with their necessary reactions on a mind like his. I should call his type of mind a co-ordinating one, and I imply in the use of that word a corresponding faculty of subordinating—persons and values.

It is perhaps by reason of that same organic unity that Denis Coffey, of Clare-Kerry extraction, never became urbanised. Even though the major portion of his life has been spent in a capital city, he has never ceased, in spite of his scholastic mode of life, to be a "fear tuatha" with a very real

understanding—as a friend of his phrased it—of the twenty-acre Irish farmer and his problems. Tralee, where he was born in 1864, counted at that time about 10,000 inhabitants; but it was for a youth of Denis Coffey's mettle rather "country" than "county" and was still, in spite of Dennys and Blennerhassets, if not Fíor at least Breac Gaeltacht. Every adult Catholic in the Kerry of those days was a Gaelic speaker of one sort or another. It was only natural then that in the nineties the newly-appointed Professor of Physiology should be found running Irish classes in Cecilia Street and working in the Keating Branch and on the Executive of the Gaelic League. It is no wonder that, for a man of his flair, the Desmond country in which he was reared became an open book, revealing that tragically splendid story with which he was never tired of enriching spells of talk that came too seldom for some of his colleagues.

I do not want to claim for the country in Ireland or for any one county a monopoly of patriotism. Such a claim could be controverted. But one need not be a Romantic nor a Regional fanatic to admit that urban life tends to artificiality and that traditions of race and soil die easily in a city like Dublin, the creation and the capital of an alien "occupation." The form of patriotism that thrives best in such an area is the purely political form, which has sometimes too little connection with the spiritual values of a people. I hold it to be a deciding factor in the evolution of the late President of U.C.D. that his boyhood was moulded neither by city "class" customs nor by Public School "Form." He was made free (outside of school hours within the Christian Brothers and Dominican Day School system) of the rich natural life of a Kerry town and countryside, in those changeful sixties and seventies and even eighties, before he was harnessed to the yoke of his chosen profession.

When some future graduate of U.C.D. comes to deal with the life and times of Denis Coffey, President, he may well trace a hidden purpose unconsciously moulding and fitting him, in his student and teacher years in Dublin, for what was to be. There is no necessity to dwell on his consistently

brilliant performances from 1884 in the Medical School, culminating in the Biology Studentship in 1889. He must have brought to his task that power of comprehension and clearness of vision, that faculty of concentration and that miracle of memory which are familiar attributes of his to-day. What I would stress here is that the School of Medicine in Cecilia Street was the sole surviving trace of the Catholic University of 1854—to help to recreate which was even then perhaps this young Kerryman's dream. The air of the eighties, the first year of which had seen the establishment of the makeshift "Royal," was thick with confusion of strife on the subject of Higher Education for Catholics. Various English Governments, Tory and Liberal, had played with the problem. It remained unsolved. Great national and ecclesiastical figures, like Archbishop Croke and Archbishop Walsh, spoke and wrote in its cause. Land, Learning, Liberty were a triple wager in the battle which had been first joined by another Kerryman and the first round of which had been won as far away as 1828. It looked like being a Hundred Years' War! Denis Coffey was in that fight on the Home Front. He was educating himself and others—and not only in the Science of Medicine. Ireland in Song and Story, in History and Legend, ecclesiastical and political—he knew it all by heart; highways and byways—he had walked them all. But he was no dreamer in an ivory tower or on a lake island. Active in the Dalton Williams Association, he and his fellow-members helped in the city elections in those stirring days of Land League, Home Rule and Parnell. Of the latter he was a loyal follower and he still quotes, as unique sentiments for an Irish Protestant in those years, the paragraph in the election address which Charles Stuart wrote for his brother J. H. Parnell in 1874: "The attempt to deprive the youth of the country of spiritual instruction must be put down, and I shall give my support to the Denominational System in connection both with the University and the Primary branches."

The same thread of purpose shows in the accident that, on qualification, he turned aside (for himself) from the path of strict scientific research or of lucrative specialist and con-

sulting practice to become the "Students' Professor," the teacher, the counsellor and the friend of the "Medicals." These were now to enter on new and reformed activities under the dynamic thrust of Birmingham and the steady pull of Coffey—that great pair of comrades. That Dr. Coffey was a fine teacher is acknowledged. No one of his students, however advanced his scientific research in other countries, had ever to unlearn anything he taught. On the contrary. The foundations were so well and truly laid that the student could quickly draw level with the best of the younger workers in the foreign schools. Dr. Coffey's medical friends are fond of speculating on his relations to research and on the pity of his having abandoned a sphere in which he might have accomplished so much. Whether it was the "accident" of his having been wanted as lieutenant by Ambrose Birmingham or whether it was of design that he threw himself into teaching in Dublin, I do not know. But it is well that it fell out as it did. I think that the later University College, Dublin, would have missed something if it had to do without what Denis Coffey became in those years and what he could hardly have become if he had devoted himself solely to laboratory or consulting room. In either contingency he could not have developed that universal knowledge, that totality of culture, that extraordinarily human kindliness which, despite his austerity and his reserve, are of the very core of this simple "medicine-man." They remained the qualities by reason of which any shortcomings of his were, in after days, outweighed and overlooked.

Those twenty crowded years before the National University started work in November 1909 saw the evolution in Cecilia Street of something like an ordered University College life, with its games and social clubs and with its religious exercises in a Sodality of which Dr. Coffey was himself President. It was vital that the School should, by successes in the Royal in competition with the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway, show cause why a University for Catholics was justified even in the eyes of a bitter and bigoted opposition. To give proof in examination of ability and earnest

will was the utmost they could hope for. Equipment for scientific investigation existed only in Earlsfort Terrace and only for examination purposes. It was wholly lacking in Cecilia Street, which Dr. Coffey described to the Robertson Commission as " the worst unit in the R.U.I. system." When he gave evidence before that Commission on June 10, 1902, he had already in the years between 1893-1900 made repeated study of methods of research in the Science Institutes of the Universities of Germany, Spain and Belgium. His arguments for the establishment of institutes for the scientific study of medicine, his advocacy of the German model for such institutes, his indications of the place and importance of the natural sciences beside literature in a university system, his emphasis on the national advantages which would accrue from the practical application of scientific research to industry and agriculture are commonplaces at this distance of time, but that they have become so we owe in great measure to Dr. Coffey.

It is interesting in connection with the Robertson Commission and in view of the type of University in which he was later called on to operate, that Professor Coffey recommended in 1902 not a Federal University for Catholics with a complex of Colleges but a Catholic University, non-residential, in Dublin. Even now, I believe, that would still be his ideal, though he gave at the sittings of the Fry Commission, of which he was a member in 1906, qualified support to the Dunraven Scheme of a Catholic College within the framework of Dublin University. The documents of the Robertson and the Fry Commissions make interesting reading and shed a good deal of light on the mental and spiritual outlook of the future President, as well as on his adroitness in dealing with the witnesses whom he elected to question at the Fry sittings. Three outstanding features are here revealed : his intense natural and intellectual Catholicism, his love of the plain people of Ireland, and his quiet determination to justify their demand for a higher education in conformity " with their historic outlook." The phrase is characteristic. It connotes, amongst other things, traditional religious beliefs

and practices. I think it is true to say that Dr. Coffey then as now could conceive of the historic Irish nation only in so far as it was Catholic. Ireland was great by reason of its Christian-Catholic tradition, its heroic stand for the maintenance of that tradition at home, and its age-long dissemination of Catholicism through its missionaries abroad. That, for him, was also Ireland's link with Latin Europe—the Europe of his choice.

When the Irish Universities Bill was introduced by Augustine Birrell in the British House of Commons on the 31 March 1908, Denis J. Coffey was named as President of the new College of the National University to be created in Dublin. Dr. Ambrose Birmingham, Professor of Anatomy in Catholic University School of Medicine, had died in 1905, literally done to death by his prodigious energies. His mantle had fallen on his friend and comrade, the Professor of Physiology, who, less dynamic, seemed fortunately for himself and for the issues ahead to have been better able, by constitution, to conserve his forces whilst giving himself wholeheartedly to the manifold tasks that he undertook. Dr. Coffey, as the real if not actual head of the Catholic University Medical School—a man of outstanding ability, culture and character, a profound and practical Catholic, an eager and discriminating student of Irish policy, language, literature, history and antiquities, loved and respected by large groups of students, a significant witness at one University Commission and an able member of another, acquainted with Continental schools of learning—Dr. Coffey was a very obvious choice of layman to be head of the new College. He was a close friend of John Dillon, who was consulted in the framing of the Bill. He would be approved by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, in consultation with whom Mr. Birrell was working. With the passing of this Bill into law on the 31 July 1908, the President of University College, Dublin, began his life's work—a ceaseless and selfless toil. In the thirty odd years that were to ensue only one, fortunately brief, spell of illness came to check that tide of work. I have said that he could conserve his forces. That has been his great mental

and physical asset. No one ever saw him rush or allow himself to be rushed. He did not use a telephone. He disliked motors, and his cab became famous. He fixed his interviews so as to give ample time and attention, and whoever saw him was impressed by the depth and richness of a mind that he never ceased to furnish. How he found time for reading was his secret. He knew every student, not only their college but their school records. And it was in some mysterious way a personal knowledge. Men returning to College after a period of absence glowed with pleasure when Dr. Coffey not only identified them at once, but could tell them a good deal about themselves. Such a personal memory has always been a characteristic of great men.

The future graduate of whom I spoke will have material for his history in the yearly Calendars—the work of the President's own hand—and in his annual Reports to his Governing Body from 1909-1910 to 1939-40, when, on the 31st March of the latter year, he ceased to be President. These reports, accurate and full, are a quiet record of progress : in numbers of students from over 500 to over 2,000 ; in buildings and extensions such as the new building in Earlsfort Terrace, the transfer to the College of the buildings, equipment and staff of the College of Science in Merrion Street and the transfer, under separate grant, of the Albert Farm and College at Glasnevin ; in the replacement of Cecilia Street by a modern School of Anatomy in Earlsfort Terrace, the acquisition of Sports Grounds and country house at Belfield, the establishment of a School of Librarianship and of Social Science, the creation of a Students' Union House in historic 86 St. Stephen's Green, restored and rebuilt for the purpose, the foundation of a scheme for Exchange Scholarships with Spain. These reports are also the man's unfailing tribute, simple and sincere, to Irish tradition—national, cultural and religious—in the persons of those dead whose lives were linked with the College either on the Governing Body or on the administrative and professional staffs. It is remarkable how Dr. Coffey, whose interests did not lie in the fashioning of words, nevertheless finds always the appropriate epithet to characterise those

whom he and we had lost. It may well be the heart speaking—the moulding force, according to the great Goethe: "Wenn Ihr's nicht fühlt, Ihr werdet's nicht erjagen."

I have already referred to a quality of organic unity in Dr. Coffey. I believe it has its roots in his Catholicism and that it gave direction, from the beginning, to his policy for the College. The Red Mass to inaugurate the Academic Year, the link forged with the Bishops of Ireland, the choice for the College of vicinity to and use of University Church with its memories of 1854, the cultivation of connections with ecclesiastical colleges and convents whose members come in increasing numbers as students to Earlsfort Terrace, the invitation extended to scholars and writers like Maritain, Dom Gougaud and Hilaire Belloc, the foundation of a scheme for Exchange Scholarships with Spain—all these are but the varying forms of a consistent expression of that unity. In the same line of direction is the organised part that the College played in the centenary celebrations of Catholic Emancipation in 1928 and in the Eucharistic Congress of 1932, when Dr. Coffey was personally responsible for the unique collection of 54 heraldic banners commemorating Irish ecclesiastical foundations, at home and abroad, and ecclesiastical and tribal chiefs of the Irish people. This last year of Dr. Coffey's presidency saw the establishment, from the funds arising out of the liquidation of Cecilia Street, of Catholic University Medical Scholarships, whilst the following passage from the Report of 1937-38 speaks his sense of the value of tradition: "The presence in the College of the children and grandchildren of past medical students and of Civil Servants and National Teachers provides a hope that, in future, the influx of students will not rest on averages of population standards but as well on settled averages of scholastic families. Growth in numbers gives proof of established traditions." It is by such reflections, perhaps, that a philosophic mind like the late President's compensates itself for the weary business of figures! Related to this feeling for tradition was his manner of acceptance for the College of the gift made to him by the Staff on June 30, 1930, of his portrait by Orpen. In a characteristic

ally thoughtful and courteous speech, which was shot through with emotion, he converted our tribute to him into one to us—" We had nobly established a noble tradition." His approval of our choice of artist—a choice controverted by some at the time—proceeded from the conviction that, for our tradition, only the best was good enough, even if it had to be sought outside our own borders.

My graduate student, searching Reports or Calendars for material on Denis Coffey, will perhaps question the calm flow of story through those troubled years from 1912 on. But if he has commonsense as well as historic imagination, he will read between the lines and will perhaps be helped to realise the temper and the tempo of this man who found himself shouldering the heavy burden of an epoch of change and revolution. As I read those documents, I sense what above all were Dr. Coffey's qualities as administrator. Foresight, prudence and caution may seem to the young to be overdone. I do not think so. I think the slogan of the man who had, for himself, no need of such aids was " 'Ware the enemy." He was and we were, in those years, literally in occupied territory. He depended on the enemy for everything. Camouflage was indicated to save, not himself (I do not think he thought of that), but his young men and women " on the run " and off, his staff, his College. I think it is due to Dr. Coffey that they and we survived with as few casualties as we did. It is a great story when it comes to be written, and Denis Coffey may be seen to be what few perhaps suspect, the big man in G.H.Q. His orderly, Redmond, will tell my young biographer friend his recollections of the military raid on the College one early morning in 1921. The President had not yet come in. The O.C. had him summoned. He arrived in the historic horse-cab. He was wearing a tall hat. As symbol and gesture in an age of tanks and steel helmets, it was perfect. The O.C., asking for the student roll, was told that it was in 41 Fitzwilliam Square. Trust that wise white head! His " wanted " young men must not be so easily identified. Prisoners were taken. These were " Long " Ryan, the dignified porter in green uniform, and Augustine O'Connell, the

accountant. His Majesty's officer had obviously lost his bearings; the President's "simplicity" must have upset him. But the College stood; there were no more raids and "activities" continued.

In this honourable though difficult task of presenting a study of Dr. Coffey, I have been so anxious to avoid the personal that my effort may have too much of concentrated remoteness and too little of warm life. I would not wish it so. That would be to give a false picture of my subject. The Orpen portrait of Dr. Coffey shows, by a stroke of genius, two facets of the man. The fine head, seen from one side, has a smiling humour, a shrewd and kindly eye. The other profile shows a serious intentness, a brooding depth of thought and observation. Both are presented without any idea of problem or conflict. I think that is the man as he handled us all, staff and students, down the years and as he handled the variegated and sometimes disparate College assemblies, over which he may be said to have presided inexorably. Always it was this mixture of shrewdness and transparent kindliness, of wisdom and sincerity that enabled him, in the tensions that must occur, to snatch victory out of the jaws of defeat. There were often gaps in his armour of "business." I would not say that he was "efficient" in the American sense of the word; he even rejected aids to efficiency. Often a cunctator, he was no wizard of finance. But he was a great man and a beloved and inspiring personality. *Ad multos annos.*

MARY M. MACKEN

LIBERTY AND LAW *

BY REV. DENIS O'KEEFFE, M.A.

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IT is commonly thought that in our age liberty is moribund. It is certain that, even in democratic countries, the sense of its value has declined. And it may be of interest to try to disentangle some of the causes which have contributed to this decline. The problem is complex. For liberty is one of those vague ideas about which emotions inevitably cluster. To some it seems almost too sacred to be submitted to any exact analysis; it is something self-evidently valuable, a subject for lyrical appreciation rather than for the dry processes of logic. Dr. Johnson alludes to an attitude like this in a well-known passage of Boswell :—

> Lord Graham commended Dr. Drummond at Naples as a man of extraordinary talents; and added, that he had a great love of liberty. JOHNSON: "He is *young*, my Lord; (looking at his Lordship with an arch smile) all *boys* love liberty, till experience convinces them that they are not so fit to govern themselves as they imagined. We are all agreed as to our own liberty; we would have as much of it as we can get; but we are not agreed as to the liberty of others; for in proportion as we take, others must lose. I believe we hardly wish that the mob should have liberty to govern us."

Johnson touches a significant point. The love of liberty is rarely as pure or as disinterested as it seems. Its lovers through the ages are a very mixed company. And I confess that I find the history of its supposed progress more tortuous than it appears to many of the historians. In this history, for example, Milton's *Areopagitica* is one of the inevitable references. And, no doubt, Milton, before he became himself one of the licensers, argued for unlicensed printing. But he had no love of liberty as such and was opposed to liberty for

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**La Conception Nationale-Socialiste du Droit des Gens.* Par Jacques Fournier. Paris: Pedone. 1939. 60 fr.

De Evolutione Definitionis Iuris Gentium. Clementinus a Vlissingen, O.F.M.Cap. Rome: Gregorian University. 1940. L. 25.

Relecciones Teológicas del Maestro Fray Francisco de Vitoria. Luis G. Alonso Getino. Madrid: Asociacion Francisco de Vitoria. 1933. pp. 537.

Catholics or for Episcopalians. However attractive its expression, the argument of the *Areopagitica* is logically feeble. "A fugitive and cloistered virtue" has its limitations; but this need not drive us, as it drives Milton, to the conclusion that the immortal garland of virtue can only be won by exposure to all forms of temptation and vice. Locke, again, whose *Letters Concerning Toleration* are often referred to as one of the milestones on the road to liberty, was not prepared to concede liberty to Catholics, Mohammedans and atheists. He would exclude from freedom the majority of the population of Europe in his own time. With manifest inconsistency he proposed to deny liberty to Catholics and Mohammedans on the principle that those who denied liberty to others should not be granted liberty themselves. He failed to notice that this principle also excluded himself. The idealists of the French Revolution were so much enamoured of liberty that they were determined to impose it by force on people who did not desire it. Freedom was so valuable that one should not be free to reject it. They were giving effect to Rousseau's paradox that men could and should be forced to be free. Rousseau was responsible for another opinion which became influential with German thinkers like Hegel. The essence of freedom, he thought, is to be found in obedience to the state; the "general will" is infallible, and in surrendering ourselves to it we remain as free as before. He is one of the sources of state-absolutism in his endeavour to exalt liberty.

The liberal tradition of the nineteenth century is a very complicated phenomenon. Some aspects of it were admirable. But it was often found in alliance with pompous and poisonous philosophies which led to bitter religious persecution, to confiscation of property, and to the denial of either liberty or opportunity to those who were unwilling to accept an irreligious philosophy of life. It had no belief in practical liberty all round, and it rejected many of the basic liberties which christian tradition had established. It would be idle to deny that manifold reasons for the present development of autocracy are to be found in the injustices committed in the name of liberty.

What goes deeper still, I think, is the fact—rarely commented on or noticed—that many of the supposed defenders of liberty were philosophical determinists and did not believe in the genuine existence of liberty at all. This is notably the case with J. S. Mill whose essay *On Liberty* is still cited as the noblest defence of liberty in the nineteenth century. Of course it is often contended that it is quite possible to be a convinced determinist in philosophy and yet an upholder of the importance of political and individual liberty. It is not necessary, nor would it be profitable here, to examine the line of argument by which people have convinced themselves of this. If all the actions of the individual person are the results of forces over which he has no control, if he has no genuine choice or initiative, the sense in which he can contribute anything to the making of his own or any other history is too remote to carry any conviction. It is precisely because he accepts and endeavours to work out a complete historical determinism that the writings of Marx, with all their crudities, have a certain logical impressiveness. No writer, however, can consistently keep to the determinist path. Liberty will still be breaking through. Freedom of the will is in our mental fibres. It pervades our natural unbiassed thought and speech. Even Marx is often illogically hortatory. He urges the Communist to behave in this way or in that when, according to his own theory, neither the exhorter nor the exhortee can behave in any other way than he does behave. There cannot be found, in Marxian theory, any rational call to action, revolutionary or otherwise. And so Marx's excursions into propaganda fit in ill with his economic determinism. The processes of history, for Marx, are as inevitable as the behaviour of a falling stone. They are a subject for contemplation rather than for participation, and the result will be what it is going to be apart from any special effort of anybody. Although Marx often rises to moral indignation where the bourgeois or the capitalist is concerned, his indignation is misplaced—or perhaps is best regarded as itself something compelled and determined. The bourgeois is doing what inevitably he must do at that particular stage of historical

development, and therefore seems to be doing, in any intelligible sense, the only right thing.

The decline of liberty as a political ideal has more causes than can be readily discovered or traced. Many of these lie in the actual historical development of our time, and with these we are not concerned. If the causes lay exclusively in passing historical events and were not more deeply rooted, there would be reason for hope that in another age liberty may recover the ground it has now lost. But it is not merely because political liberty has failed to fulfil the hopes that were placed in it that it has receded. The attempt is now made to show that the arguments for liberty were insufficient and that there are values more ultimate and more pertinent to the existence of organised society than liberty ever could be. Liberty has receded not merely as a fact but as a value. And this is true with parties both of the Left and of the Right. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries authority was on the defensive. So-called advanced thinkers were attacking it both in church and state. Even the defence of authority was not unfrequently based on the admission of the value of freedom and on an attempt to show that freedom was best secured within the authoritative system of the state. Thus Hegel worked out elaborately that the Prussian state represented the highest realisation of rational freedom—an amazing triumph of theory over experience.

The communist position was ambiguous. The theory grew up in an environment in which political freedom was regarded as an ultimate value. But Communism in itself seemed to imply not merely a determinist philosophy of history but a rigid authoritarian and totalitarian scheme in practical achievement. The dictatorship of the proletariat was a necessary stage in the ultimate achievement of Communism, and this seemed to necessitate the rigid authoritarian rule of a small minority, an *élite* who would impose the system on the majority by force. Marx himself wavered on this point. In the nineteenth century such a conclusion could not but seem highly unattractive. But the fact that this authoritarian system was successfully used in the Russian revolution by Lenin and Trotsky has given it

great prestige. Thinkers of the Left have moved away from liberty as an essential and indispensable aspect of the state. There is little consolation in the theory that this inevitable tyranny represents merely a stage on the road to that ultimate society in which the state will wither away. This forms the utopian or mythical side of Communism, and all the evidence points in quite a different direction. That a doctrinaire aristocracy or oligarchy which had tasted the sweets of power will be willing to divest itself of its privileges seems exceedingly unlikely. That, under such a tyranny, the state is the sole owner of the means of production is a small matter since privileges are distributed unequally and the lives and happiness and liberties of men are subject to the whims of officials. Bakunin, from the anarchist side, reacted strongly against this authoritarian element in the philosophy of Marx :—

> No sooner is the revolution over than a new social organization must at once be set up ; not a free association of popular bodies . . . but a centralized dictatorial power concentrated in the hands of this academic minority, as if they really expressed the popular will . . . The difference between such revolutionary dictatorship and the modern State is only one of external trappings. In substance both are a tyranny of the minority over the majority in the name of the people—in the name of the stupidity of the many and the superior wisdom of the few—and so they are equally reactionary, devising . . . to destroy the present order only to erect their own rigid dictatorship on its ruins.

There seems to be no escape, in the logic of Communism, from the conclusion that political liberty is not really valuable or, at least, that it is not comparable with the contradictory value of economic equality—for many argue that liberty and equality are incompatible. If men are free to shape their careers, equality cannot be maintained. Equality, if possible at all, implies coercion. "Any development means differentiation. It is only by keeping people's minds at a low stage of development—a low standard of thinking—that you can achieve a society where poetry, say, or music or mathematics can be fairly distributed to all."

Liberty, for theorists of the Left, has become a bourgeois prejudice adapted to certain forms of the capitalist state. They defend the *status quo* in Russia as securing and main-

taining values which go deeper than liberty and are more important for the average man. We are not here concerned with the problem of whether in fact economic equality is attained in Russia. The evidence seems to point the other way. "Strangely enough," writes Aldous Huxley, "the degree of economic inequality would seem to be greater in Soviet Russia than in many capitalist countries. Max Eastman cites figures which show that, whereas the managing director of an American mining firm receives about forty times as much as one of his miners, the corresponding person in Russia may be earning up to eighty times the wages of the lowest-paid worker"[1]. If this is correct, the dictatorship of the proletariat abolishes both liberty and equality.

The authoritarian systems of the Right are not, as Communism in a sense is, the result of a political philosophy. They have arisen out of various political circumstances, and such philosophy or theory as they possess is an afterthought. On the theoretical side they are feeble. Nothing could be more dull and depressing than their official literature. And this not because it is peculiarly difficult to devise a philosophical basis for authoritative political systems. Some of the most striking political literature, from Plato downwards, is in the conservative tradition. But no modern autocratic country has so far thrown up any political thinker of eminence. Their positive philosophies do not concern us here. Usually they maintain that state-efficiency is more valuable than liberty, that liberty is incompatible with a well-ordered state; and with these views they combine vague theories of nationality and race. On the negative side they are contemptuous of liberty, and they deride the arguments of the older liberalism.

In this matter a case can be made, and it is of some interest to examine how the argument for liberty has been developed. If liberty is valuable, its value must be shown in either of two ways or both. Either it is something intrinsically good or it is something good because it leads to good results. It is either an intrinsic or an instrumental value. The first view has rarely been held as a matter of theory, although it con-

[1] *Means and Ends*, p. 88.

stantly appears in vague forms in political literature. Theoretically it is excluded by the fact that liberty is a means rather than an end. It is a potency or faculty whose value lies in its working. And experience shows that it can work well and ill. Liberty, of course, is good; but it is good as a means, as the most important and indispensable of all means, because it alone renders possible the great spiritual and moral values. The purpose of society is not to secure freedom simply but such freedom as makes for the common good and renders a certain type of life possible. Liberty, therefore, points to a further goal, and the central point of controversy is what this goal is and what kind and degree of freedom help to secure it.

The argument of the *laisser faire* school centred in the idea that happiness and progress were made possible by methods of trial and error. These needed a wide field for experimentation. No body of persons, however eminent, was wise enough to control and confine the energies of men, to establish fixed laws of opinion and action. "We can never be sure," says Mill, "that the opinion we are endeavouring to stifle is a false opinion; and if we were sure, stifling would be an evil still." Both parts of this statement are obviously false and the latter part, in addition, is in contradiction with Mill's own philosophy. But we need not pursue these points now. Mill defends the crank and the eccentric. No society can be progressive in which eccentricity is suppressed. Abnormal individuals make the greatest contributions to human culture; and, in suppressing eccentricity, we may suppress a Newton or a Shakespeare. This is admirable; but, on the other side, it is clear that eccentric conduct must to some undefined extent be suppressed in every society. Life in society involves regulation, and the real difficulty is to discover the principles which lie at the root of wise regulation and wise suppression. Abnormal types of conduct cannot receive a universal tolerance, for this would in turn abolish freedom itself.

This argument for freedom has definite value, but its weakness lies in the fact that it affords no genuine guide for

practice. It is also weakened by the fact that it is often made to rest on a basis of moral scepticism; whereas, if there are no fixed moral values, freedom itself disappears and society becomes impossible. If certainty is attainable, valid rules are possible and necessary. If one were guided exclusively by mathematical considerations, there would be no valid reason for tolerating eccentric methods of squaring the circle. *Econtra*, where principles are admittedly more fluid, as in the arts, the reasons against suppression are obvious. Aesthetic principles are difficult to discover or to enunciate with precision. And particularly in the growing and progressive parts of an art the critic must move with extreme caution. History shows the danger of dogmatism here. But just as certainly there are spheres of experience in which freedom is misplaced or impossible. No one will seriously consider murder as one of the fine arts. Or again, an army lives by discipline and its efficiency is incompatible with freedom. And what it comes to, at the last, is this: that we must consider each individual case on its merits. The authoritarian is more impressed, where the state is concerned, with the analogy of the army or the navy than with the analogy of the arts. "Speaking of India, he [the Duke of Wellington] said: 'you have there the blessing of a free press; in that country, in a country quite unfitted for such a thing. You might as well try a free press on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war'."

If liberty in various spheres of experience has value then its value must be demonstrated in each particular case. At best it is doubtful if a single sweeping argument will carry much conviction. What needs to be defended and established is not liberty in general but particular liberties. Some liberties must be curtailed or abolished if the good life is to be possible, and an argument which establishes the value of liberty everywhere and in all circumstances proves too much.

There is then no argument which will establish a claim to liberty as such. The liberties which are vital to man's moral dignity are rooted in natural rights, and rights have their basis in the moral law. Now the moral law is absolute and

paramount or it has no meaning. Nothing can claim to stand outside its scope. Yet it does not imply any limitation of the liberties of man in the sense of his opportunities to live the best type of life. Its purpose is to release our spiritual energies. My freedom is not genuinely curtailed when I am forbidden to lie or to commit murder. But it is curtailed if my natural rights are attacked, if I am not allowed to have property or to educate my children. The moral law is not in its essence a negative but a positive law. It is the fine flower of man's rational nature, and nothing which is genuinely worth doing can be prohibited by the law of man's rational nature. "Nothing more foolish can be uttered or conceived than the notion that, because man is free by nature, he is therefore exempt from law. Were this the case, it would follow that, to become free, we must be deprived of reason." (Leo XIII: *Libertas Praestantissimum*).

But if liberties are based upon rights, it follows that there can be no moral or natural claim for liberty to do evil. This was really the crux of the controversy with the older type of liberalistic thinking. It is no longer so, for now the state is unwilling to admit any right in the individual at all. Liberty to do good is denied more definitely than liberty to do evil. By exalting individual opinion above the moral law the liberal philosophers prepared the way for the immoral dominance of the state. It is evident that, on the christian view, there cannot be a *natural* right to do evil. But sometimes there may be what is equivalent to a *civil* right, for the state may sometimes justly permit evil to be done :—

> For this reason, while not conceding any right to anything save what is true and honest, she [the Church] does not forbid public authority to tolerate what is at variance with truth and justice, for the sake of avoiding some greater evil or of obtaining or preserving some greater good. God Himself in His providence, though infinitely good and powerful, permits evil to exist in the world . . . . In the government of states it is not forbidden to imitate the Ruler of the world. (Leo XIII, op. cit.)

This is one of the chief tasks of political prudence. "It is no inconsiderable part of wisdom," says Edmund Burke,

"to know how much of an evil ought to be tolerated." The essential connection between liberty and morality is the problem of the present age. That there can be no liberty without law is a commonplace where individual liberty is concerned. It is not yet so fully realised in the international sphere. The theory that liberty can be validated by expediency alone breaks down completely when we consider international relations. The argument for the value of eccentricity here loses its appeal. Obviously, since positive international law has no sanction save in the agreement and consent of nations, one must accept either the Machiavellian idea of the *raison d'état* or the christian idea of a law of nations based on natural law. It can be argued that such a natural law of nations is nugatory because there is no power to enforce it, and because attempts to establish such a power have hitherto failed.

This failure must be acknowledged. To overcome it is a matter of immense difficulty, and many people think that if a solution for this problem cannot be found, civilisation is doomed. But though, in international relations, the natural law cannot be validated by force, it has an immense latent power and prestige in the consciences of men. It is on this power and prestige that successful international peace must be based. Against physical force, either within the state or outside it, there is in the last resort moral force. Where this fails, all for the moment seems lost. But moral force is deeply rooted in human nature. And it would be to lose faith in man's moral nature and in the regenerative power of christianity to believe that any eclipse of the christian freedoms which have shaped our civilisation is destined to be permanent. It is the fate of the Church at some historical periods, and even by some of its own members, to be falsely associated with repression. In our time at least it is not difficult to see that those essential principles of freedom which alone make human life endurable, spring from her philosophy and are embodied in her unchanging traditions.

D. O'Keeffe

ITALY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

BY DENIS GWYNN

AFTER an intensive press campaign to stimulate enthusiasm for the German conquest of Denmark and southern Norway and a series of pronouncements by Ministers and publicists whose views appeared to carry greater weight than their actual positions would suggest, the Italian attitude towards the Allies had become clear beyond all further doubt. Signor Mussolini had evidently decided that the opportunity for asserting his claims in the Mediterranean has come at last, and that they must be settled not by negotiation such as the Allies have desired for many months but by dictation from Rome. He has consistently refused to state his terms, in the belief that the time would come when much more could be achieved, by either the threat or the actual employment of military force, than the Allies would ever have considered even as an exaggerated first offer to start negotiations. There can be little doubt that his aims now go far beyond the attainment of equal rights with France and Britain in the Mediterranean. Their naval hegemony must be broken and the Mediterranean must become once again an Italian sea. It is no longer a question of bargaining for representation on the directorate of the Suez Canal or of arguing about the rights of the Italian population in Tunisia or the use of the Italian language in Malta or even colonial concessions in Africa. Italian " realism " believes that the hour for decisive action has arrived.

What in fact are Italy's demands in the Mediterranean, and what prospect is there that they can be conceded without resort to war ? Both France and England have been anxiously and vainly seeking an answer to that question for a considerable time. Signor Mussolini has deliberately refused to show his hand until events should disclose what might be possible of attainment. Even now, when the British and

French Empires are involved with all their resources in war with Germany, it may be doubted whether the time has yet come to formulate his final demands. The foreign policy of Italy since war began has been one of unqualified opportunism, inspired by great ambitions of imperial expansion and supported by extremely powerful naval and military preparations, designed to exploit every advantage that may arise through the progress of the war. There is no limit to what possibilities may emerge if German victories should compel the Allies to reduce their armed forces in the Mediterranean. But the opportunity may pass if the Allies can withstand the German attacks. If there should be any likelihood of German failure, Italy will clearly have to choose between giving full aid to Germany or making a bargain with the Allies on whatever terms can be extorted.

It can scarcely be doubted that, even in such bargaining, Italy would demand such reductions of British naval power in the Mediterranean as could never be accepted unless there is immediate danger of total defeat. So long as the war continues, the Allied naval supremacy in the Mediterranean is indispensable to the effective enforcement of the blockade of Germany. It is still more indispensable for the transport of French troops from northern Africa and for the maintenance of military forces in the Near East adequate to prevent a German or Russian advance into the Balkans and into the Middle East. To relinquish that hegemony would be tantamount to surrender to German ambitions. Mussolini can have no illusions in that respect. In supporting the German side, he is challenging the full strength of British and French naval power in the Mediterranean when they have made preparations for any such emergency. It is certainly improbable that he will face the consequences of such a challenge until the war has developed considerably further. But for the time being, his policy indicates that he has no intention of attempting a bargain with the Allies; rather will he remain in a state of complete military preparedness until they are compelled to reduce their strength in the Mediterranean. But the time factor places limits on every policy of opportun-

ism, and it may be necessary for Italy to take action either to assist Germany or to assert Italy's claims before the Allies can have time to gain the upperhand.

In estimating the decisive moment for such action, Italy cannot hope to escape the uncertainty which surrounds many vital factors in the present war. Two factors particularly have still to be tested, and Italy is inclined to underrate the possibility of disappointment. First, there is the profound conviction in the totalitarian countries that the democracies are incapable of taking prompt and vigorous action, and that their peoples will not face the privations and the sacrifices required by war. Secondly, there is the belief that naval power cannot withstand the onslaught of superior air power, or hold its own against the modern development of submarine warfare and minelaying from the air. With her powerful air force and her very large number of submarines, Italy might well hope to paralyse the action of the Allied fleets in the Mediterranean, even if they were not crippled by disastrous losses. That belief was widely held last summer, and the surprising success of the British fleet in resisting both submarine and bombing attacks, and still more in maintaining a steady flow of merchant shipping to British ports, has certainly exceeded even the hopes of British naval experts. Experience in the Norwegian campaign has been still more reassuring to the Allied fleets, for the naval losses during the landing and withdrawal of the Allied expeditionary force have been unexpectedly small. Moreover, the German losses were so numerous as to make the German fleet a much less formidable menace than it had been. And in so far as the British fleet can now use naval bases in northern Norway and also in the Faroe islands and Iceland, it has obtained a further advantage.

The result of the first practical test of the relative capacities of sea and air power has been as important to Italy as to either of the belligerents. There was a strong likelihood, when the conflict opened off the Norwegian coast, that the British fleet would suffer shattering losses and that the German occupation would be effective from Narvik to the Skagerrak before the

Allies could send an expeditionary force. But the result showed, against all expectation, that the fleets could still inflict more severe damage than they suffered. Reckless or over-confident strategy may have cost the German fleet more serious losses than need have been incurred, but they were extremely heavy in proportion to the total strength of the German fleet. Mr. Chamberlain was thus able to announce in the House of Commons on May 2 that "Whereas the strength and efficiency of the Royal Navy have been little, if at all, affected, the injury to the German Navy has been so substantial as to alter the entire balance of naval power and to permit an important redistribution of the main Allied fleets. It has been thought possible to revert to the more normal distribution of ships in the Mediterranean, which has been for some time affected by our requirements in the North Sea. A British and French battle fleet, with cruisers and ancillary craft, is already in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean on its way to Alexandria." In the meantime, while preparations for Italy's immediate entry into the war at any moment have been virtually completed, British merchant shipping has been diverted from the Mediterranean in order to reduce the demands for naval convoys and to avoid the risk of shipping losses in the event of war. The situation has since been complicated by the German conquest of the Dutch and Belgian coasts, which provides new submarine and raiding bases much closer to England and adds greatly to the danger of warships from air attack. But the duties of the fleet have been lessened by the absence of further necessity for blockade control at any point below northern Norway, and what Mr. Churchill described as the "accursed corridor" for neutral shipping no longer exists.

The arrival of naval reinforcements in the Mediterranean indicates clearly that the blockade is more likely to be intensified than relaxed. Yet the blockade itself has inevitably increased Italy's resentment against the Allied control of her home waters. Italian ships have to submit daily to searches for contraband during their ordinary trading voyages. Perishable cargoes are often gravely damaged through the consequent

delays. The Allies insist on their own definition of what must be treated as contraband. And while Italy boasts loudly of her friendship with Germany and her desire to assist a German victory, every possible restriction is enforced to prevent her sending the supplies which Germany needs. There are of course certain commercial compensations, in the profit accruing to any neutral country which is free to sell its products at war prices in new markets when competition has largely disappeared. But the blockade is essentially humiliating, and to Italy more than any country under present conditions. What the Allies describe as the " freedom of the seas " implies in practice that, whenever Britain and France become belligerents, they possess and assume the right to intercept neutral traffic in any part of the world, while their enemies are immediately deprived of all use of the seas. That this privileged position shall cease is unquestionably one of the chief " war aims " of many neutral countries, and Italy desires it with at least as much vehemence as does Germany. Yet this is obviously a war aim upon which the Allies cannot conceivably compromise unless they are compelled to do so by decisive defeat; and four neutral countries have already discovered that neutrality can be a fatal delusion.

Italy's strategic position is notoriously most difficult until she has gained absolute control of the sea. Her armies in Libya and in East Africa cannot be fed and supplied without constant transport through the Mediterranean, and Italy herself is the most vulnerable country in Europe for hostile attack. It is precisely for that reason that she is determined sooner or later to establish naval hegemony in the Mediterranean. The question was certain to arise during the present war; and at one time it seemed quite possible that, if Italy refrained from supporting Germany, she could have obtained most of what she wanted by bargaining with the Allies. But her attitude, especially since the more recent German invasions, has made any such bargaining impossible. The tone of the Italian demands has not only hardened; it practically excludes any question of further discussion. After protracted refusal to state her precise claims, Italy now asserts that her " im-

prisonment" in the Mediterranean must cease—which can only mean that British control of Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria, and even Aden must cease for ever—before she will even consider negotiations for the future.

There was undoubtedly a growing feeling in England before the outbreak of war that sooner or later the British command of the Mediterranean, in justice to Italy's legitimate demands, would have to be relaxed, but that some form of international guarantee would have to be established to preserve its use for all countries. Mussolini's epigram describing this sea as a trade-line for other nations but as the life-line of Italy, commanded sympathy as well as respect. Moreover, the status of Gibraltar as a British port aroused much searching of conscience among English people during the Spanish civil war. The frequent allusions to its recovery for Spain, during the closing phase of the war, did not provoke that sense of outrage that might have been expected. English opinion had grown accustomed to these Mediterranean problems during the application of sanctions against Italy, and there was a growing feeling that everything ought to be done to develop the alternative route to the East around the Cape, which had served quite well for centuries before the Suez canal was even thought of.

But such diversions of world trade take many years to develop; and in the meantime other problems besides the route to India and the Far East required solution. Palestine came into the news as a reminder that the British Empire had acquired vested interests in places where the ordinary man wished heartily that his Government had not become involved. Balfour's pledge to the Zionists was given, at a critical moment in the last war, so secretly that even Cabinet Ministers had known practically nothing of the intention. They were compelled to accept it at a Cabinet meeting as the price of Jewish support for the Allied war loan in America in November 1917 and of Jewish sympathy during Allenby's advance into Palestine. Complete bewilderment was the general attitude of public opinion in England towards the whole Palestine question during the military operations there a few years ago. And even the repeated interference with the pipe-line carrying oil

to Haifa did not create any conviction that vital British interests were now involved in its retention. There were, of course, a few publicists like the late Mr. Sidebotham ("Scrutator" of the *Sunday Times*) who persisted in asserting that the Palestine Mandate had given to the British Empire the strategic key to the Middle East. But even now, when the Allied Forces in the Middle East can count upon Palestine as their principal base, the very name of Palestine arouses misgivings to the ordinary man in England. Nevertheless its strategic importance is immense in the present war.

As for Malta, there is a general belief that it would be a most uncomfortable place to hold in the event of war in the Mediterranean; but it has been so strongly fortified and protected that its occupation must be regarded as a military necessity. Besides that, Malta is neither ethnically nor historically Italian territory. Gibraltar, on the other hand, is by nature a part of Spain; and there can be no doubt that Spaniards to-day regard its retention by Britain as a permanent humiliation. The intensity of anti-British feeling in Spain is reflected remarkably in a recent contribution by the Marquis de Merry del Val, for many years Spanish Ambassador in London, to the symposium on Neutral War Aims compiled by Mr. Christopher Hollis.[1] In discussing the attitude of the typical Spaniard towards present conditions, the former Ambassador uses these striking words: "He may not perhaps have heard of Admiral Rooke, but there is one deep sore in his heart whereon is branded, in ever-burning letters, the word Gibraltar." In the eventual peace settlement some form of international control of Gibraltar would be preferable to its retention as a British base. But while the war lasts, it would be foolish to expect England to evacuate it just to please Italy and Spain.

In the same interesting symposium there is an admirably balanced and penetrating discussion of Italy's war aims by Signor Varè, the former Italian Minister to Denmark. He recalls the position when the League of Nations was preparing to frustrate Italy's campaign in Abyssinia by the imposition of

[1] *Neutral War Aims.* Burns Oates. 7s. 6d.

sanctions. At that time, writes Signor Varè, " certain British diplomatists abroad (if not in Rome) took it upon themselves to point out that Italy would have to give up all idea of an Abyssinian campaign, since Great Britain had only to close the exits of the Mediterranean to bring the Italian Government to its senses. And they asserted that this was indeed what the British Government intended to do." Italy, continues Signor Varè, " did not intend to await strangulation. If war with England was inevitable, she meant to attack first." The crisis passed when the British Ambassador in Rome was told to assure the Duce that the moving of the Home Fleet to the Mediterranean was not intended as a menace to Italy. But that imprudent threat changed the whole situation.

" That the keys of the Mediterranean, Suez and Gibraltar should be in the hands of a non-Mediterranean power, whereas the Mediterranean is Italy's only sea, did not matter as long as Italy's relations with that power were still those of Lord Salisbury's time. But since 1935 the whole world knows that Great Britain is a potential enemy of Italy and not averse to holding Italy prisoner in the Mediterranean if she can do so. On the outbreak of the present war, it was inevitable that the events of 1935 should be recalled and their meaning emphasised, with the inevitable conclusion that, unless Great Britain did something to prove her friendship, it might be to Italy's advantage that the Allies did not emerge victorious from a war with Germany or with anyone else ! For this feeling the Allies have only themselves to thank. The original mistake was not to have satisfied Italy's colonial aspirations at the Peace Conference, even apart from the fact (carefully glossed over) that this amounted to the breaking of a pledge. But it was even a greater mistake to have imposed sanctions on Italy in 1935, and it was hardly convincing to maintain that Britain did so only because she had pledged her word and had no other course open to her. We heard nothing of Britain's pledged word when the questions of Vilna and of Manchuria arose. It may be justifiable in a statesman to be inconsistent, to disavow his past policies in altered circumstances, and to condone some acts of aggression while resisting others. But then he must not spout platitudes in the name of a morality that is not incompatible with his material interests. Better to admit that we are all of us miserable offenders in a contrary world. This more indulgent attitude has also the advantage that it breeds good fellowship."

Much has happened even in the few months since Signor Varè wrote those sarcastic lines. The Italian criticism is now expressed in much more vehement terms. Signor Farinacci has the reputation of using strong language, but he does not exceed the vehemence of many other authorised spokesmen who have lately been urging Italy to prepare for war. "Fascist Italy detests the democracies," he writes in the *Regime Fascista*, "demands a better justice between the peoples, and above all wants to break the chains which hold her prisoner in the Mediterranean, whence she cannot issue forth without the permission of others, although the whole of her life is in this sea, while the others have only a passage through it." This is no mere resentment of the interception of Italian ships for search during the blockade. The challenge is to the very existence of British sea power in the Mediterranean, and it is inspired not only by Italian dignity but by avowed hatred of the democracies. If Italy was ready in 1935 to challenge both Britain and France unaided, when their Home Fleets were available for reinforcement of their normal forces in the Mediterranean, there is less cause for hesitation now that their navies are dangerously occupied in the North Sea. But the assumption that Italy means war when she talks war implies that there is no alternative. The injury which would certainly be caused by war, even if it were victorious, must be offset against what might be won by hard bargaining. Mussolini's "realism" will give full weight to such considerations.

"We have an alliance with Germany," writes Signor Farinacci, "where live 30,000,000 Catholics who to-day are fighting, all in complete harmony with their German brothers, to defend their families from destruction by the plutocracies, who are thirsting for revenge and dominions . . . To keep faith with the pledged word is not only a loyal duty towards Germany and an act of dignity towards ourselves, but is also in our direct interest." It is just twenty-five years since a similar decision had to be taken by Italy—and in the same spirit of exalted "realism." There were pledges then also to support the Central Empires, but with certain reservations, just as there are reservations in the alliance with Germany to-day. Musso-

lini is a more hard-headed politician than Giolitti ever was, but Giolitti expressed himself in memorable terms in July 1914 in advising Salandra to reject Austria's request for Italian support when the ultimatum was sent after the assassination at Serajevo. "I regard war," he wrote, "not as an opportunity but as a misfortune which one must face only when it becomes a necessity, either as a matter of honour or when vital interests demand it. That one should launch one's country into war because of sympathy for other peoples is not, to my mind, permissible. A man may risk his own life out of sympathy but never that of his country."

It was not because they disagreed over that fundamental principle, but because Mussolini in his youth believed that Italy's vital interests did in fact require her intervention in the last war, that they took opposite sides. Then, as now, Mussolini believed that Italy's opportunity would pass if it were not seized during the war in Europe—then, as now, he regarded war as an opportunity not only to win territorial concessions which were otherwise unobtainable, but to assist in destroying the power of an empire which had cast its shadow for so long over Italy's national revival. In these recent years the distrust of British naval power and the belief in the decadence of the British and French democracies have dominated Italy's foreign policy, as the distrust and resentment towards Vienna dominated Italian policy before 1914. There can be no doubt that Italy hopes for the overthrow of both the French and British Empires, and her policy will be dictated by Mussolini's personal estimate of whether more can be obtained by hard bargaining than by actual war.

Yet behind the desire to break the power of France and of Britain, there must always lurk the fear that an excessive aggrandisement of Germany would be dangerous to Italy's future. There could be no greater menace to British sea power than the permanent German occupation of the coast line from Norway to Belgium. To that extent it is easily understood that Italy should welcome the German invasion of these countries. But such a vast extension of the territories and resources of the Reich would inevitably upset the balance

of power in Europe to an extent which must threaten Italy's position in the south-east. It is only six years since Mussolini virtually took Austria under his protection after the assassination of Dr. Dollfuss and sent his army corps towards the Austrian frontiers to prevent any further attempt to achieve the Anschluss. The effort of the League of Nations to frustrate his colonial ambitions in Abyssinia afterwards threw Italy into the arms of Germany, and the Anschluss was accomplished with his avowed connivance. But Italy's interest in the former empire of the Hapsburgs has since been asserted by her more recent development of close ties with Hungary and by her occupation of Albania a year ago. It seems highly probable that some definite agreement has been reached between Hitler and Mussolini which pledges the Reich to recognise Italy's interest in Hungary and in the Balkans as compensation for the loss of her interest in Austria, similar to Hitler's pledge that Germany would recognise as immutable the Italian frontier along the Brenner Pass. But Mussolini as a " realist " is unlikely to attach more credence to Hitler's personal promises than is justified by Italy's power to enforce their fulfilment. Are such pledges more or less likely to be secure if Germany emerges from the present war in control not only of Poland, but of Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium ?

That Germany should support Italy's present claim to hegemony in the Mediterranean is only to be expected. The German Dr. Ley used language no more extreme than that of many Italian pronouncements when he declared recently that, " just as Germany cannot tolerate England in the Baltic, so Italy cannot tolerate England in the Mediterranean." But Italy's claims against France are still more drastic. They demand even part of the French coastline on the Mediterranean around Nice, and they demand Corsica as well as Savoy, in addition to the claims to Tunisia and at Suez and in French Somaliland. The time for detailed negotiations about boundaries or local interests has passed. We are back in the atmosphere of that evening before the general strike in France in November 1938, when the Italian Chamber at the conclusion

of Count Ciano's speech vociferated its demand for " Savoia, Corsica, Tunisia." Contempt and detestation for the democracies have again reached the same climax as they did then, when it was expected that France would within a few days be thrown into chaos by the result of long communist preparations. The prospect of a communist revolution in France has for years been a factor in the growing distrust of a democracy which aided the Red revolutionaries in Spain throughout the Spanish civil war. It is one of the chief reasons still for the absence of any disposition on Italy's part to consider terms of settlement which would be short of the surrender of Allied naval hegemony in the Mediterranean. And until that issue has been decided one way or the other by the present conflict with Germany, there can be no hope of the appeasement of Italy by minor concessions.

But although Italy is now giving every help in her power to Germany it cannot be assumed either that Italy will herself undertake the risks and the injuries of war, or that, in a later phase, her interests may not ultimately dictate an amicable agreement which will provide real freedom and equality of rights in the Mediterranean. In the meantime she can, without any open declaration of war, add greatly to the difficulties and the cost of the Allied war effort. So long as that pressure in favour of Germany can be maintained, Italy's chances of ultimate success will naturally increase unless some unexpected development occurs in other directions. Not until Germany shows real signs of distress or of exhaustion, in face of the vast resources which the Allies are able to mobilise through the exercise of their command of the sea, can there be any hope of negotiations with Italy on a basis which the Allies could even consider without accepting utter military defeat and the dismemberment of their empires.

DENIS GWYNN

RECONSTRUCTION IN SPAIN

BY PROFESSOR E. ALLISON PEERS, M.A.

LAST New Year's Eve, General Franco delivered a broadcast address which might well go down in Spanish history as the " Reconstruction Broadcast." Little was heard of it in Great Britain, where the Press commented on only a few phrases dealing with the European War and conveyed no idea of its length (which was about 8,000 words) or of its considerable range. Without going into great detail upon any one of the reforms which the Caudillo proposed to make, it gave a very full and clear indication of their general nature. It will serve, therefore, as a fitting introduction to this brief survey of the constructive measures which are now beginning to appear.

The longest section of the broadcast dealt with the nation's trade balance, a subject of which, said General Franco, most Spaniards had very little knowledge. Except during the Great War, when Spain's neutrality brought her prosperity and gave her a favourable balance of 700,000,000 pesetas yearly, there had been a deficit on foreign trade since the beginning of the century. Before 1914 it averaged from 100,000,000 to 150,000,000 pesetas annually; during the five years of the Republic it rose higher than ever before, to an annual average of 300,000,000 pesetas. This deficit must be wiped out, both by increasing exports and by restricting imports, which could the more easily be done because many commodities at present imported could be produced at home. Silk, cotton, tobacco, wood, and in some years even cereals were obtained, quite unnecessarily, from abroad. Imports of machinery, petroleum, petrol, fertilizers and other chemical products could be largely reduced by the use of Spanish products and Spanish labour. It would take a long time to put production on an entirely satisfactory footing; the material destruction caused by the War had to be made

good; new ships, automobiles and rolling stock for the railways were necessary; in the Red zone practically no sowing had been done during the last year of the War and this necessitated the importation of 14,000,000 quintals of wheat, which normally Spain would herself have produced. From these and many other similar statistics, General Franco drew the moral that the country must apply the principle of the duty of work which he had laid down in the Labour Charter of March, 1938, with an eye primarily to the country's own welfare.

General Franco went on to describe the directions to be taken by his proposed social reforms. A drive would be made against the growing menace of tuberculosis: to this he had referred in his inaugural broadcast of October, 1936, and even during the War seven thousand beds had been provided in sanatoria, perhaps one-fifth of a necessary total, the balance of which must now be supplied as soon as possible. The figures of infant mortality, again, were "frightful," and a campaign to reduce them would be started at once by the women's branch of Falange. The housing problem was immense: quite apart from the devastations of war, millions of Spaniards were living in insanitary homes, and the recently created Housing Institute had drawn up a ten-year programme for the construction of 200,000 new houses of a modern type. Other activities, combining the aims of improved health and better housing, were the building of hostels for young people, the provision of more playing-fields, and the serving to children of cheap and nourishing meals. Wages and salaries must be raised, especially in the smaller professional classes—and here, after paying a moving tribute to the work done by ill-paid State Officials, the Caudillo announced that on the previous day the Government had sanctioned a raising of the stipends of Civil Servants, as from February 1, by from 16 to 40 per cent. As this raised the lowest-grade stipends only to 3,500 pesetas annually (about £90 at the official rate of exchange), it will be judged that the reform was not made too soon.

This brief summary of the principal part of the Reconstruction Broadcast, though far from complete, gives an idea

of the directions in which reforms may be chiefly expected. If we now turn to what has been done during the first year of peace (the Civil War, it will be remembered, ended on April 1, 1939), we shall find that the aims emphasized in theory are being carried out in practice.

Little need be said of the actual material reconstruction, though it is this that first strikes the visitor's eye, and has been doing so since long before the War ended. As demobilization proceeded, workers became available in increasing numbers for rebuilding and replanting ; and, under the picturesque title of " redemption through labour," a scheme has been put into operation by which political prisoners may work off part of their sentences where their services are needed, their dependants receiving a modest remuneration. All over the devastated areas, villages until recently in ruins are re-appearing and large areas of towns and cities, from Madrid downwards, are being rebuilt. Some of the towns which suffered most, such as Belchite, Guernica and Teruel, are being " adopted " by the Caudillo and given preferential treatment. Advantage is being taken of the necessity for extensive rebuilding to demolish slum areas and improve cities which have been growing more important during the twentieth century. There are already signs that Madrid itself—which already in the last twenty years has grown out of recognition —will be a completely new city in the near future. Several landmarks are to disappear—the Ministry of the Interior, for example, in the Puerta del Sol, is to be pulled down and the Model Prison, with its many tragic memories, has already gone. The Puerta del Sol itself is to be enlarged and entirely remodelled : the ten streets radiating from it will be widened ; subways will be built beneath it ; and two immense towers at one end will house the nineteen Hispano-American consulates. The University City, which bore the brunt of a thirty months' siege, is to be rebuilt, and four years are to be spent in the reconstruction of the West Park, very near it, at a cost of four million pesetas. New suburbs are already springing up outside Madrid : a housing colony for five thousand poor people was opened in February, and this had been

built in only three months. Nor is the New Spain to be without its monuments of the War. The greatest of these will comprise a basilica, a monastery and a group of youth hostels, situated in the Sierra north of Madrid, between El Escorial and Guadarrama, on a site to be known as the Valley of the Fallen. The work was begun on April 1 last.

Together with housing and rebuilding goes feeding and the organization of food supplies. The general food situation in Spain is gradually getting back to normal, but deficiencies of transport as well as of production will postpone the complete solution of the problem for some time. But the lot of the poor has been made very much easier by "Auxilio Social," which, when it kept its third anniversary in October, 1939, had 2,847 centres, at which 496,000 children were being fed daily, besides home services of food, maternity and housekeeping departments and some eighty workshops for the making of clothes which were turning out over twenty thousand garments a month.

Once the most immediate and elementary needs of the people are on the way to being satisfied, labour will be set free for public works on a larger scale than any yet attempted. The estimates published by the Ministry of Public Works include 1,500,000,000 pesetas to be spent on roads, the same sum on hydraulic works, and 1,200,000,000 pesetas on ports. The urgency of replacing losses in and adding to the pre-War strength of the Merchant Marine was stressed by General Franco in his Reconstruction Broadcast. A Salvage Commission has already saved the country some 200,000,000 pesetas by its work in the harbours, and the announcement of a building programme cannot be long delayed.

An important step was taken last October towards that stimulation of industry, which is so essential for the restoration of the balance of trade. A decree was issued providing for the reservation of certain industries as being "of national interest," such industries to be given preferential economic treatment for fifteen years and, if necessary, for further periods of five years. The concessions will include a reduction of taxation by as much as fifty per cent., a reduction of import

duties on machinery, the importing of which is essential, grants of land for the erection of factories and a limited State guarantee on capital. In fulfilment of an important section of the Labour Charter, a National Labour Inspectorate was formed in December to ensure the regulation of wages and hours of labour, and to watch such matters as the employment of foreigners, the conditions under which employees are working, and the provision for them of social amenities.

Of the three principal problems which General Franco inherited from the Republic, and the Republic, in its turn, from the *ancien régime*, one, the aspirations of certain regions to autonomy within the Spanish State, has been declared to be no problem at all, and both Catalonia and Euzkadi have been placed on the same level as other parts of Spain. What results this policy will have remains to be seen. With the other two problems—agriculture and education—some progress has to be recorded.

No single extensive measure like the Agrarian Law of 1932 has yet been published, and it is a little difficult at present to see precisely how General Franco proposes to solve the problems of proprietorship and inequality in the size of estates and holdings. The most urgent matter, as his New Year broadcast implied, has been to put the maximum amount of land under cultivation and to obtain the maximum yield. This aim was pursued with energy, and with a considerable degree of success, by General Queipo de Llano in the very first year of the War, at a time when the chief agricultural districts in Nationalist hands were Andalusia and part of Extremadura, while the whole of the Levante, with Asturias and much of Castile, still belonged to the Republicans. The wider question was given definite form in the Labour Charter, published when the War had been in progress for nearly two years. There was no suggestion here of a general distribution of small portions of the *latifundios* of the South, which many experts have from the first considered impracticable. All that was promised in this direction was that the State would work towards the ideal of " giving to each peasant family a small holding, to serve as a family plot for the satisfaction of

its own elementary needs and to occupy its activities during times of unemployment." This suggests little more than a cottage garden, and the ideal is complementary to those of improving rural housing and sanitation which are put forward in the shape of a more explicit undertaking. The remaining promises are that the State will " pay special attention to the technical education of the agricultural producer," will control prices so as to guarantee a minimum profit to the employer and consequently fair wages to the employed, and will " assure tenants of stability in the cultivation of their land by means of long-dated contracts which will safeguard them against unjustified eviction and allow them to recoup themselves for any improvements that they may have effected."

There is no suggestion here of any immediate and drastic action, though it was encouraging to learn that " the State aspires to contrive means whereby the land shall pass, on fair terms, into the hands of those who exploit it directly." The legislation which, to date, has been actually passed consists partly of measures designed to relieve immediate distress, and partly in the laying of broad and deep foundations for the future. Typical of the former class is the law, which came into operation immediately after the Reconstruction Broadcast, giving non-contributory family allowances to peasants working the land, the whole cost of these being met by the employer and the sums due being paid out through a fund specially created by the State. The wider operations had already begun with the formation, in December, 1939, under the Ministry of Agriculture, of a " National Council of Colonization," which is to move first of all upon the large estates of the South. This body has agreed to retain a small proportion of the estates expropriated under the Republic—in particular, land which by its nature or situation is considered " of high national interest "—and to return the remainder to its owners, who either had it taken from them without indemnification or were indemnified in now worthless Republican bonds. It is laid down that the present holders of this land shall be permitted to harvest this season's crops and also that, on estates at present being worked communally

where peasants are cultivating individual holdings, they shall continue to do this as the proprietor's tenants at the same rent as they now pay.

In education, a good deal of progress has still to be made before a thoroughly satisfactory state of affairs is reached, but much has already been done, especially considering the two great obstacles which had to be met at the outset—the loss of buildings and teachers through the War, and the harm done by the anti-Catholic legislation of the Republic. The first obstacle affected elementary education most, so many of the country schools depending on a single teacher and the number of schools being in any case very much greater than in any other branch of education. The loss of teachers was also much more serious than an outsider might suppose, since a large number of the existing teachers had been appointed by the Republicans because of their anti-clerical or anti-religious views; and these, even if they were not fighting or living in exile, were naturally not acceptable in the New Spain. The second obstacle, too, was more deeply entrenched than was evident from a glance. I have described at length, in my *Spain, the Church and the Orders*, how the numerous schools kept by the religious Orders, which had done so much to remedy the neglect of education by the State and the consequent illiteracy in Spain, had been arbitrarily closed by the Republic without the making of any proper provision for their pupils. But this was not the whole trouble. Seven or eight years of partial or total secularization in the schools, to say nothing of secularizing influences in the homes and the streets, had meant that many boys or girls now approaching adolescence had had no religious teaching that they could remember, while many who during the War had lived in territory held at first by the Republicans had been subjected to influences fiercely hostile to Christianity. It was not, therefore, merely a question of re-opening the schools of the Orders and rebuilding those of them that had been destroyed, but of the rehabilitation of religious teaching and of religious influences in all schools, since the new Government very properly gave this the primacy in importance.

Neither here, nor in the matter of the rebuilding of State schools, is much to be gained by entering into great detail. Each process is slow; but there is ample evidence that in each direction the work is being undertaken systematically and with determination. Statistics, under the first head, cannot possibly be given; under the second, they have little meaning. Thus in January, 1940, it was announced that, during 1939, 1142 new schools had been "created." But what is the significance of the word "created"? In Republican days it generally meant "built or confiscated." Here the meaning is probably "rebuilt or reopened." All that we can say with certainty is that it gives evidence of activity.

In elementary education a thorough reform of the curriculum has not yet been attempted, though a comprehensive measure is announced as being in preparation. Intensive courses in methods of teaching are being held during the first six months of 1940, and these may be attended by any who have obtained the *bachillerato*, or school-leaving certificate. Provincial and municipal education committees have been appointed throughout the country: the former, which are unusually representative, include inspectors, teachers, clergy and fathers or mothers with children actually at school.

The chief development in secondary education has been the passing of a far-reaching reform law in September, 1938—six months, that is to say, before the War ended. Its main features were the abolition of annual examinations, the substitution of external examinations for internal, the re-modelling of the curriculum leading to the *bachillerato*, the establishment of Classical and humanistic studies as the basis of this course and the cultivation of greater efficiency in inspections.

The seven-year *bachillerato* course, to which more utilitarian alterations are provided, gives a fairly clear idea of the New State's conception of secondary education. The old Spanish tradition of encyclopaedism in the curriculum is dying hard: too many subjects have to be taken and sufficient time is allowed for hardly any of them. Latin gets only three hours weekly, and the two foreign modern languages which

all pupils have also to study are given the same allotment each. Natural science, mathematics and history are studied throughout the course, together with " notions of universal history " in the third year and " notions of foreign literatures " in the sixth and seventh. All pupils, furthermore, study religion, Spanish language and literature, geography, gymnastics, music, manual work, drawing and modelling, make periodical visits to art museums and attend a weekly lecture on " patriotism."

Reform in university education has so far been marked chiefly by the re-organization of the Arts curriculum upon what might be described as a compulsory Honours basis. The Universities, throughout Spain, practically suspended their normal work during the Civil War : the students were either in the fighting ranks or in prison ; the professors, when they found themselves, geographically speaking, on the side which they supported, were generally used for some form of national service. The first post-war University session opened nearly a month late, at the end of October, 1939, and numerous concessions have naturally had to be made to students. The total University registrations for 1939-40 are 25,969, or about one to every eight hundred inhabitants of the country.

Where the greatest progress, perhaps, has been made is in the organization of advanced study and research. The centre of this is the " Institute of Spain," which comprises the six learned Academies and upon which depend a number of specialized bodies (such as the Centres of Historical, Archaeological, Arabic and Hebraic Studies) which would co-ordinate research in their particular fields. In November, 1939, was established a Council for the promotion and organization of scientific research : this also has a number of dependent specialized institutes, museums and laboratories. The Council is a very large one and remarkably representative : the Universities provide twenty-four members ; the Technical Colleges, fourteen ; the Academies, six. An interesting group representing " private investigation," includes one member chosen from each of the five religious congregations noted for their scholarship.

Politically, since the summer of 1939, there have been no events in Spain worthy of note. The re-establishment, in February last, of the Council of State, may fairly come under the head of reconstruction. The duties of the Council will be to examine and report upon questions submitted to it by the Government, and for the present it will consist of a President and six members nominated by the Head of the State. As the preamble to the measure re-establishing the Council remarks, this is a return to old Spanish tradition, and traditionalists, of whom little has been heard of late, will welcome it.

Since the vertical Syndicates are an essential part of the structure of the National-Syndicalist State, applicable to every profession and industry, with leaders chosen from among the active members of the National Party, there is particular interest in the " Law of Syndical Unity," published on January 26, 1940. This, as its title implies, creates a single syndical organization, under the Party, to which all workers' associations, some four thousand in number, will gradually be affiliated. It does for production what was done for politics in the Unification Decree of April 19, 1937, making every form of expression illegal save the one form which is centralized and official. All associations existing to defend economic or class interests were incorporated in this organization as from the date of the decree, though it was recognized that so large a piece of reconstruction could not be effectively completed for some time.

Nothing has so far been said in this survey on the subject of moral reconstruction, which is the hardest task by far that the new rulers of Spain have to accomplish. General Franco, in his New Year's broadcast, made some pointed though only passing references to the " monstrous and suicidal amnesties " of Liberal *régimes*, which were often pardons only in name, and intimated that a comprehensive formal amnesty, while doing nothing towards " liquidating the hatreds and passions of the War," would tend to destroy the unity which was being gradually re-formed. Great play was made with this passage by left-wing writers, who have every interest in securing the

re-entry of malcontents into Spain at the earliest possible moment. But there can be no doubt that General Franco is acting wisely in aiming at a gradual rather than an immediate reincorporation into the national life of those whose sympathy with the present *régime* is doubtful. With regard to political prisoners, a question of unexampled difficulty, the State is doing what it can to make their lot easier. At the beginning of 1940 a Commission was appointed in each province to examine sentences passed by military tribunals and to recommend modifications of these, in suitable cases, to the higher authorities. In February a law was made reducing to two years, with certain exceptions, all sentences imposed for offences committed in connection with the National Movement before April 1, 1939, and not exceeding twelve years in length.

It remains to say something of the relations of Spain with other countries, not so much in the field of international politics, where a growing cordiality with Italy co-exists with continued neutrality as regards the European War, and even with a professed indifference to its outcome, and in the field of trade, where there have been considerable developments.

For the last six months Spain has been negotiating trade agreements with various countries. She can do little with Germany, because of the difficulty of communications, or with Italy, because the products and the wants of these two countries are both very similar. She made an agreement with Portugal, however, as from January 1, 1940, providing for the exchange of agreed commodities under the supervision of a joint commission meeting every two months. In January, too, was signed a trade agreement with France, which is expected to lead to a resumption of trade between the two countries at pre-war level. In March similar agreements were concluded with Britain, Switzerland and Japan.

The Hispano-British agreement, more complicated than the others, is really tri-partite, consisting of a loan agreement, a payments agreement and a supplementary agreement containing provisions regarding war trade, which includes an undertaking by Spain not to allow certain re-exports.

By the loan agreement Britain advances to Spain a sum

of £2,000,000 for the purchase of goods and also a sum which, added to the £2,000,000 standing in the Bank of England and owed since before the Civil War by British debtors to Spanish creditors, will enable an immediate dividend of fifty per cent. to be paid on debts owed to British creditors, which amount to £7,000,000. Payment of interest on these loans will be made from the beginning, capital repayment to begin in 1942 and to be completed in ten years.

The payments agreement is really the revival of an arrangement made with the Republican Government in January, 1936, and continued until, at the end of that year, the Civil War made it no longer practicable. It provides that sterling payments for British imports from Spain shall be paid into the Anglo-Spanish Clearing Office at the Bank of England. After provision has been made for the service of the loans and for the instalments of debt liquidation as just described, nine-twentieths of the sums paid into this account will be allocated to Spanish purchases from Britain, nine-twentieths to purchases from the rest of the sterling area, and the remaining tenth to other payments, such as insurance premiums, due from Spaniards to Britons.

Though a layman in such matters may not be qualified to give authoritative judgment and though the view of one who has been working constantly for Anglo-Spanish friendship for close upon twenty-five years may not be completely unprejudiced, it cannot be said that the method proposed for liquidating old debts is ungenerous, while the breadth of opportunity which the agreement allows to Spain at a time when she most needs this should form a foundation for greatly improved Anglo-Spanish relations, both political and social, in the near future. The more I see and hear at the present time, the more convinced I am that, despite the harm which has been done—and is still being done—to those relations by irresponsible journalists and politicians, the time is ripening for a great development of pro-British feeling in Spain. When at length this takes place, one great factor in the change will be found to have been the help given by Britain to Spain during this period of reconstruction. E. Allison Peers

MEXICO ON THE VERGE OF A CRISIS

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LIKE the watchers on the slopes of Vesuvius, those who take any interest in the affairs of Mexico can usually discover when that country shows signs of new disturbances. The present is one of those sultry periods when, below the Rio Grande, violence is felt to be brewing. It is not merely that the strong administration of President Cárdenas is nearing its legal end, or that elections for the Presidency are scheduled for the month of July, with all that this means of pent-up antagonisms in a country like Mexico. There have been elections before in Mexico and administrations have changed hands peacefully—though not often, it must be confessed. What is now troubling Mexico is something deeper than a mere change of administration. Things are actually winding themselves up so tightly that only an explosion will relieve the pressure.

Many elements, as usual, come into play to create this situation. The Communists, the Fascists, the oil situation and relations with the United States, the labour question, the Spanish influx, the presence of Trotzky, sheer weariness with the party in power, and all the ordinary personal tangles, are some of the factors which go into the impending climax. For usually there is a difference of time when such various questions come to a head. When they do, their effect is severe, but not fatal. But at present there is a deep feeling everywhere that all of these questions and more are due to come to a head at one and the same time. When that happens in Mexico, they have trouble.

If we are to take them in order, we should perhaps take the most obvious one first, and that is the coming elections. According to the Mexican Constitution, it is forbidden for a President to succeed himself. According to a long-standing

custom, the candidates announce their intentions a year ahead. Hence the campaign has been going on since last July. Now it is fairly well known that Mexico, like other totalitarian countries, has really only one political party. The National Revolutionary Party, (P.N.R.), founded by President Plutarco Elias Calles, now in exile in California, was, for the first years of Cárdenas's administration, this sole official party. As the campaign approached, however, certain elements within the party got somewhat out of hand, and so the party was reorganized and is now called Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (P.R.M.)

The first manoeuvres concerned the choosing of the candidates by the party. The principal aspirants were General Francisco Múgica, a Cabinet member and an old Carranzista, General Avila Camacho, one of Calles's men but faithful to Cárdenas, and General Sanchez Tapia. There was little to choose between these men, except that perhaps General Múgica was the worst. He was generally considered to be the "brains" behind the first moves of the Cárdenas administration, and he was a violent revolutionary doctrinaire. The other two were just Generals, devoted to the Revolution because it offered them a career. Avila Camacho was considered to be the most amenable to control, and it was perhaps for this reason that he was chosen by a Cárdenas-controlled party convention. In these matters, however, one can never really be sure of the real reasons for action—that is, until some time afterwards.

As the time for declaring candidates approached, however, another and most formidable figure appeared on the scene. This was General Andreu Almazan, a Revolutionary General, but one who had always professed more conservative views and who had a fairly good reputation in the Army and as Military Commandant in one of the States. His appeal was to the traditional revolutionary nationalist doctrines, as was natural, for he need not even think of running if he did not do that. But he was for peace and co-operation with the United States, and he was anti-Communist. Sanchez Tapia also ran, with the help of APRA, of which more anon, on a programme

of Mexico for the Mestizos. A fourth candidate was General Joaquin Amaro, a little Indian who was Minister for War under Calles. He is the traditional "strong man" and in recent years has come back from obscurity with his Mexican Revolutionary Anti-Communist Party. Just what is the game of Sanchez and Amaro is not yet clear, for neither of them has the smallest chance of being elected.

It was generally conceded in April that the contest lay entirely between Camacho and Almazan, with Camacho the overwhelming favourite because he was the candidate of the official party. There are some elements of doubt here, however, for Cárdenas has not been too gushing in his support of Camacho, and there is some talk that Amaro and Almazan have an "understanding." From private advices I learn that it is certain that Cárdenas, who will control the election machinery, has no intention of allowing Almazan to win, and will even resort to violence beforehand if that is necessary. On the other hand, Almazan's meetings have all the popular support. When he comes to a town to speak, the people flock out to meet him and gather to his hustings with enormous enthusiasm. For those who know their Mexico, this is exceedingly ominous for Almazan. José Vasconcelos once had the same experience, and not only did he not win the election (though he still claims that he actually did) but he was lucky to escape with his life.

The real reason for the pressing doubt about the actual outcome is a factor which never really existed in Mexico before, in spite of much that was said to the contrary. Calles was called a Communist, but he never really was a Marxist, Leninist, or Stalinite. He had collectivist leanings, no doubt, but they were highly nationalistic in purpose and execution. If they were Communist they were native Mexican-Indian Communist, not the international brand. At present he is openly a Fascist, so I am informed by an American whose house he frequents in the United States, and during the Spanish War was violently pro-Franco.

Now, however, the Communist party has a real foothold in Mexico. How this came about can easily be told. The old

Labour Party, the C.R.O.M. (Confederacion Revolucionaria de los Obreros Mexicanos), under the leadership of the infamous Morones, was more what we in the United States would call a "labour racket." It was actively in politics and forcefully intervened in the religious troubles before 1929. It gradually fell apart, however, due to the inordinate greed of those who led it. Its labour action was blackmail and extortion, not legitimate labour agitation. While this was happening, however, a new figure arose in labour ranks, a former professor who had made his pilgrimage to Moscow and indoctrinated himself with the existent party line and, what was more important, underwent that peculiar intellectual abdication which is necessary for a loyal Stalinite, if he is to follow faithfully the contortions of the Communist leaders' minds. This labour leader's name is Lombardo Toledano. He is astute, brave like all Mexicans, and highly purposeful, which all are not. His first purpose was to get control of the Mexican labour movement. This he did rather easily. He was a good speaker and organizer, and he knew what he wanted. When he succeeded in this first purpose, in order to clinch his victory he changed the name of the labour group. It is now called the C.T.M. (Confederacion de Trabajo Mexicana). It is, in its higher personnel, thoroughly Communist—that is, Stalinite. Avila Camacho is its candidate.

This, in itself, would be significant enough. But there is more. There is every evidence that Stalin intends to attempt to do in Mexico what he failed to do in Spain. First of all, after the defeat of the Republicans in Spain large numbers of the beaten Spanish Communists, the worst and the toughest, and many of the intellectuals flocked to Mexico. At their head is the notorious Comintern leader, Peter Manuilsky under the alias of Kaldowsky; and also Leon Haikiss, the former Stalinite envoy to Republican Spain; Jim Ford, an American Nergo Communist and former candidate for Vice President on the Communist Party ticket; Narciso Bassols, a Spanish revolutionary and a member of the executive committee of the Comintern; and many other veterans of the Communist wars. Curiously enough, there is also in the

sinister collection a white American Protestant Minister, Dr. Harry F. Ward, who was forced out of the Presidency of the American League for Peace and Democracy (formerly the League against War and Fascism) when that Communist-backed popular-front organization was forced to disband under the indignation caused by the agreement between Stalin and Hitler.

It is obvious, therefore, that Moscow expects something to come out of all the present confusion in Mexico. Under the leadership of Lombardo Toledano, Mexico's left-wing groups went through all the usual manoeuvres of the popular-fronts before September 1939. The principal focus of Communist cells was the Committee in Defence of the Mexican Nation and for Struggle against Imperialism, organized throughout Mexico, and several other lesser nets to catch the liberals.

The Hitler-Stalin agreement of August 24, 1939, however, made very severe inroads into the popular-front movements, and, as elsewhere, they have been largely abandoned in Mexico. Under the new party line the Communist Party is again out in the open, and its tenets in Mexico are practically the same as elsewhere. It is violently anti-Allies, without being as yet too openly in favour of Hitler, though Hitler is the principal beneficiary of the confiscation of American and British oil, which is, or was, carried to Italy in dozens of Italian tankers, and will now probably find its way into Germany through Vladivostock, if the Allied fleet lets it through. It also declares for internal social reform ; it is against the United States ; it attacks President Roosevelt, as it does in the United States ; it is for a united front of all Latin America to keep it out of the war, but to sabotage supplies going to France and Great Britain. But it is very seriously embarrassed by the Hitler friendship for Russia. There is a pro-Hitler movement in Mexico, as elsewhere. It has gone under the name of the Gold Shirts and was organized from the American side of the border by a General Rodriguez. Now, of course, this movement is also embarrassed, for it has been as strongly opposed to Communists as the Communists have been opposed to it. By all the logic of events, the two movements should ally

with each other, as they now have a common objective. But Lombardo has based all his agitation on the anti-Fascist line, and there is every evidence that he is having some difficulty in forcing his followers to follow the new line. But just what effect this curious contretemps will have is not yet clear; at the very least it is liable to lead to embroilment with the Allies, and perhaps with the United States. For the latter country is, at this writing, acutely uncomfortable over the presence, so near its borders, of a "fifth front," such as led to the easy occupation of Norway.

So far I have made no mention of another element which in the past has always played no inconsiderable part in Mexican politics. I refer to Freemasonry. Just what that body is doing now is somewhat hard to discover. It is not apparent that it is behind Lombardo Toledano, especially since the newly coined friendship between Stalin and Hitler. There is one group, however, which in the past has been, as it were, the instrument of Masonry. The A.P.R.A., Popular Association of American Revolutionaries, under the able Peruvian Haya de la Torre, has been the instrument for the execution of Masonic policies in Latin America. In doing this, it has posed as a racial movement, the revolt of the indigenous Indian American against the Spanish tradition, and, as such, has won considerable support among Socialists everywhere. But I have very good reason to believe that it is purely the Masonic secular arm. In the present Mexican imbroglio the Apristas have Sanchez Tapia as a candidate; not that Masonry hopes that he will win, but most probably merely because, until the Hitler-Stalin wind blows over, it must stay in the field and thus preserve a tradition of political action.

The whole picture is further confused by the presence in Mexico of large numbers of Spaniards who fought for the Republicans in Spain. Estimates differ as to the number which these have reached. I have heard as high as 10,000 and as low as 6,000. Probably 8,000 is about right. They have settled down in Mexico as if they intended to run the country. They have several large schools, revolutionary and Marxist, of course. They have a newspaper and several

well-printed and well-edited periodicals. They have been given key positions in government bureaus, and obviously intend to carry on in Mexico where they left off in Spain. Their appeal, however, is not only to Mexico, but to the whole of Latin America, where they seem to aim at uniting all the radical and anti-religious forces in a great left-wing, anti-imperialist, anti-Catholic, anti-American, revolutionary movement. I believe that our American State Department is already beginning to find them a serious worry. What they will do in Mexico, however, is a puzzle. The whole crowd has an ineradicable tendency to split asunder into warring factions. But they are well-heeled at present with money, and as long as that holds out there will no doubt remain a certain kind of union among them. At present they are concentrating all their efforts on supporting Cárdenas, on the understanding that the President will continue to follow Lombardo Tolendano along his Stalinist line.

Another important element remains to mention, and that is Trotzky. This gentleman did not come to Mexico for his health. But up to the present he has been only a factor of disruption among the left-wingers. What he apparently hopes for is a large accession of Communists from among those who cannot stomach the Stalin friendship for Hitler. As long as that friendship continues, Trotzky's Fourth International will no doubt continue to gain. If the friendship is broken, which is still (it seems from here) not at all improbable, then Trotzky will once again fall back into the shadows in Mexico. But it is hard to see what influence he can have in the present Mexican situation. He seriously hurt his cause by coming out against the Finns for the defence of their country against the Russians.

Another influence, in the past very powerful, is, of course, the United States Government. But the United States is also in the midst of preparations for a Presidential campaign, and it is very unlikely that the White House will take any part in Mexican politics which will be of decisive value. There is only one exception to that statement, and that is the contingency of a serious interference by Mexico's President in

the international relations of the United States. Tha
not at all impossible, in view of the strong Sinarquista and Fa
the forces operating below the Rio Grande, and it is
possible that in certain circumstances it might suit Sta
purposes to embroil the two countries. American pu
opinion has shown sporadic outbursts over the confis
confiscation of foreign properties in Mexico, but
reaction to the recent offer of Secretary Hull for in
national arbitration in the oil question clearly sh
the futility of any American intervention. As soon as
offer was made public, immense crowds of governm
employees filled the streets of Mexico, under orders to de
protesting against any change in the present oil legisla
The demonstration was clearly designed to impress on
United States that any overt act on its part would at pr
result only in strongly fortifying the position of Cardenas
his party.

From present indications, therefore, it seems almos
evitable that Avila Camacho will be declared the winn
the election when the Congress meets in August to scru
the ballots. What will happen then is anybody's g
There are those who insist that, in view of Almazan's str
popular following, there will be, if he is "counted ou
spontaneous uprising of the people in his favour. But
the other hand, there is every indication that this is
what the Communist faction will desire. It is no secret
large quantities of arms have been smuggled into Mex
lately, for whom it is not clear. The Communists say
are for Almazan—which, to judge from past performance
almost a sure sign that they are for the Communists. No
is sure just who will make the uprising. But everybo
agreed that there will be one. It is an old Mexican ca
for the side which really desires to make a revolution to
the other side into acting first. That is to impress the U
States that the real defenders of liberty and order ar
very ones who have plotted to destroy it.

Now there is one question which I have left unanswered
which I imagine my readers have had in mind all throug

...ce. What about the Catholic Church in all this? ...ously enough, the Catholic Church is enjoying one of its ...t tranquil periods in many years. Close observers of ...xican history have noticed a close connection between ...ecution of the Church and Mexican trouble with the United ...es. When there is serious conflict with the American ...ernment, the Mexican Government is almost sure to bear ...n hard on the Church. The purpose of this is obvious. ...e and time again, when it seemed that at last the United ...es was going to exact an accounting for the loss of hundreds ...millions of dollars by confiscation, the Mexican Government ...thought up some new way of harassing the Church. There- ...n Catholics in the United States raise a loud cry of protest. ...e result of this on American public opinion is lamentable, ...t quite understandable. In the resulting confusion the ...te House is paralyzed, for fear that it might seem to its ...-Catholic constituents to be intervening for the protection ...a religious group. "Oil and the Church?" once privately ...sumed a powerful American personality. "Count me ...of it."

Now for some two years relations between Mexico City ...d Washington have been relatively tranquil, with the ...ception of some few mild notes of protest from the latter ...r the confiscations. At the same time the pressure on the ...urch has been lifted to a large degree. It is true that the ...vernment has not relaxed its educational decrees in any ...nner, and that therefore children of the country are still ...ng subjected to an odious form of "socialistic," that is, ...-religious propaganda in the schools. But on the other ...nd, public worship throughout the country, even in Tabasco, ...e home of the anti-God movement, is now allowed. In ...asco, of course, there are no churches left, but the Bishop ...ebrates openly among his people and says Mass in a public ...ce. In the other states Mass is said to the capacity of ...existing priests, and the people are flocking to the Sacra- ...nts. In many places the first Sacrament to be considered ...Matrimony, for in many places there has been no priest ...ten or twenty years. A pathetic story is related of a child

of ten who approached the pastor who had heard the confessions of the child's parents in preparation for marriage and asked him to tell the penance he had given them. "For you see they will not know the prayers, and I will have to say them with them."

All over the country enormous efforts are being made to teach the children their prayers and their catechism. Volunteer catechists, young men and women, in many thousands are teaching Christian doctrine several times a week to probably 2,000,000 children. In one diocese, which must be nameless, the Bishop, newly consecrated, gathered all his priests together for two weeks of intensive cultivation in Catholic missionary effort. For his instructors he had no less than four Archbishops from other dioceses. After this period of alternate intellectual and spiritual exercises, he felt that his priests were fully equipped for their tremendous tasks. It is the children who are first approached, for they are in the front ranks of danger, and when the children are won over the older people come, timidly at first, then more confidently, to the performance of their religious duties.

In a way, this is one of the miracles of modern times. For twenty years these people, mostly Indians and Mestizos, were exposed to the most virulent attacks on their religion. With true Indian stoicism they endured, seemed outwardly to conform, and now that the Bishops and priests are freely among them again, it is discovered that the Faith had not been lost at all. There is only terrible ignorance, but at the same time there is, on the whole, a great eagerness to learn.

The instrument of all this activity is Catholic Action. By that I mean Catholic Action in its technical sense, the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the Hierarchy. Many years ago a zealous young priest, trained in Rome and now Bishop, began the organization of Catholic Action in a small way by initiating the training of a few leaders, young men and women. Now, during this lull in persecution, that obscure initiative is bearing fruit. Catholic Action is organized in every diocese and in most parishes where there is a priest. Where there is no priest, there is still more to do and much

done by lay volunteers. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the re-Christianization of Mexico will be a lay achievement rather than a clerical one. However, the serious shortage of priests is being remedied as fast as possible. Through the generosity of American Catholics a large seminary is being conducted on American soil in New Mexico, with Jesuit Fathers in charge. This seminary will produce a goodly number of priests, well trained and zealous, for the Mexican vineyard. At the same time, all the Religious Orders report large numbers of very promising vocations.

The religious future of Mexico, then, is very promising. Sad to say, however, this future ultimately depends in large degree on the political outcome. There is almost certainly ahead a trial for Mexico similar to the one through which Spain has just gone. If the Communist strategy wins out, there will be terrible days for the Church. But, on the other hand (there is always that " other hand " in Mexico), in that event the United States will be seriously concerned, and this time the interests of the United States and those of the Church will again be parallel, but now in a guise that will not make it impossible to take definite action. If Almazan wins, and it seems impossible to see how he can do so without recourse to arms (which will alienate all official sympathy in the United States), then one can conjecture that the Church will have more peaceful times ; for Almazan has declared for religious peace and for co-operation with the United States, as I have said. But it must be remembered that in Mexico it is always the unexpected that happens. Avila Camacho may win, he may crush the Communist support that elected him, and then leave the Church in peace for its spiritual mission for years to come. But this much Catholics over all the world should know : the Faith is not dead in Mexico, and thousands of zealous workers, lay and clerical, are fanning it into a bright flame.

WILFRID PARSONS

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LIV

MÁG SHAMHRADHAIN, BRIAN, LORD OF MAGH SLÉACHT

TADG Ó hUIGINN CCT

1. D'uairlib taoiseach Banba Brian
—a labra ni labra faob ;
Gach giolla dar gein go niall
do-beir Brian Sionna go saor.

2. Mac d'Eochaid na n-abra ndub
eochair na Banba a glac geal ;
Niall nachar neamhgnátaigh miod
dearbrátair don fiur Brian Breag.

3. Móide a cairdeas ir clann Néill
a airdmeas ar gach crann cruit
iarrma na fioghdiaid i ndiaid
do fiul Bruain an Bruanra ó mBruin.

4. Brian mac Donnchaid deargar crann
re honcoin dá ndearglar drong
glan a luadaim cloinn i gcionn
tualaing fionn a car go Conn.

5. Go Conn gCéadchathach na gcuan
ir na dronn féadchatach saor
ni fuigeadh gan breith ó Brian
triar fo deich ir cúigear caomh.

6. Tualaing finn a n-áireamh fin
dub gruinn gach a ráidheadh rib ;
ni hé a ngairm do-géanam duib
a-déaram ruib ainm gach fir.

7. Donnchadh Cime an chuaine fíogh
mac Gille nuaidhe na naomh,
meic Gille Íosa ucht bán,
rlán ó uic gach ciosa an chaoch.

8. Mhic Gille na Naomh neart mac,
time i dtaom nir cleacht re cách,
mhic Muirgheasáin gan mhod maoth,
cor laoch ar uidheasaibh d'ácht.

9. Mhic Samhradháin fubaigh fhaoir
fa shannghabáil cubaidh cáir,
mhic Concobair na gcon fhóill
do gon tóir d'orchoraibh áigh.

10. Mhic Fhearghail mhic Laochda Flainn
ba fhaochda i ngach gleic a ghreim,
mhic Aonghoir an eaghla finn
finn feadma ar a fhaorbhoir feingh.

11. Mhic Concobair mhic Taidhg Tir
do airgh a gleic n-a gleic ghéir,
mhic Ruairc mhic Iomaoir an áigh
cuairt Ceit gá láimh fiogfhaoir féidh.

12. Mhic Corghrais mhic Dúnghail duinn
go dtnúdhgail n-a tnúdhgail teinn,
mhic Oirgheachtaigh nar airgh cill
an ghairgh binn foinehartaigh feingh.

13. Mhic Eachach mhic Maonaigh mín
mhic Baitín nar chan acht cóir,
mhic Bréanainn mhic Fhearghna féil
nach dearna re cléir gleic nglóir.

14. Mhic Fhearghusa an octa gil
ba corcra a feanghorra ó fraigh,
mhic Muirgheasaigh mhóir don muigh,
nir cuir tóir fuinedhaigh air.

15. Mhic Eoghain mhic Duach dheirgh [aoi]
i bhreirgh nar luat mar bad lé,
mhic [Bhruin] mhic Eachach fuair ghnaoi
[rduir] rluaigh ba dhaoi Eachach é.

16. Mhic Cairbre mhic Cormaic Cliach
mhic nachar thromloit ar dtácht,
mhic Airt mhic Cuinn na gcon rgíot
ó bhfhíot cuing do chor ar cách.

17. Mág Amhradán, Brian na mbeann,
dagbranán nach cian ó Chunn,
fearcar fir na n-earrlad n'donn
do ceangladh go Conn fin funn.

18. Rugar leam mar luing fe fruth
ó Chuinn ar nach beam ag brath
an géag nacar chom fe ciot
im fiot go Conn na gcéad gcath.

19. Conn Céadchathach [ir clann] Cuinn
céadfaidh a [chlann] ór gach gcloinn
Teallach nEachach ir d'ua Chuinn,
coill nua ni chreachach an choill.

20. Ceann Teallaig Eachach fuair dán
ó Eachach do fuair gach fséal ;
gach baile i mbí 'r nach bí Brian
fairge na gcliar do-ní a néall.

21. Brian mac Donnchaid dion na dtuath
fiod gon onchoin tar a fioch
breith Dé do cheannaig do cách
an tráth do cheangail fé an fiod.

22. Sochraide foir bágach Briain
ar nach foil árach gan fóir
dog fine Bréanainn im buaib
fluaig a Fréamhainn Mide móir.

23. Giolla óg anar fe iot,
amhar Sionna na mbród mbreac,
fear Muige Sléacht ar feang glac,
nochor fearr Mac Céacht nó Ceat.

24. Féicheamh coitcheann ceannaig duan,
i mboigthreall nach leangair lámh
ní tuilleamh buide fe Brian
fiar gach duine fir an dán.

25. Aor dána an talmhan n-a taig
na dámha ag adrad n-a fail ;
gach dámh go Brian bealaig broin,
a toil diall don feadain air.

26. Bhrian mar Teamhraigh mar theac mBhriain
re leanmhain gach leat ar áil ;
cormhail é ir Teamhair an Trír
do fín ré tar fearaibh fáil.

27. Suairc ionadh longphoirt laoich Boc
ar gaoith d'ua ConnCuirc 'r ar cioc
Cúl ó nGuaire ní cúl cheach,
dún na mbreach bur buaine ar bioc.

28. Airgneach Daoile na bfleadh bfuar
an fear ar faoire ná an fhóil
cormhail bhíog ar cionn na gcliar
do Bhrian 'r don fíon gá ól.

29. Inbear Muige Sléacht na fhreadh
na huile éacht ag an fhior ;
Sruth Gráinne ar a gut ní gab
fhut glan ar áille thre fhiodh.

30. Ceann Cruaiche ag Bhrian do-beir ní,
rgiamh a cuaiche rein ar ré ;
mór lear no gléimheall a gnaoi,
ní threar dhaoi na hÉireann é.

31. Ceann na ndruadh ceann na flóg roin
mór don trluag do mheall nach mair
Mag Sléacht ór an Cairche cuil
fuil na n-éacht gan aithbe air.

32. Ceann Cruaiche a-tá ar an muig mór
do cuir mná gach cuaiche i dtámh
ar mharbh ré ag fléachtain don trlóg
mór d'éachtaibh é fear gach n-ár.

33. Ocht gcatha fo thí thuag roin
nocho fluag do bí fa boil
do cathaibh ar mharbh fan muig
gan fuil tachair ó arm air.

34. Teidhm ar uairle i nInir fáil
do innir an duinne dúinn ;
fearta an teadhma ar an muig mín
im fíg Teamhra fuil fa úir.

35. Tigearnmhar tigearna ór cáċ
—a libearna fobo luaċ—
flaiṫ na feann fáinig a ċríoċ,
táinig a díoṫ fe Ceann Cruaċ.

36. Ainm ó fearṫaiḃ Gaoiḋeal nglan
fa leaṫtmhaig nar fgaoileaḋ fgur
Aċaḋ fearṫa naċ fann fear,
fearṫa ar fean ann bun i mbun.

37. Do ṫógaiḃ áḋ Briain i Briain
a láġ fa na fóḋaiḃ fúiḃ,
léiḃeann na leaṫtmhaġ n-a láimh
feaṫtmaḋ pláiġ Éireann fa úir.

38. Beann mar Beinn Éadair gon fior
do féaḋaiḃ agus do fuḃ
Beann Coilcteaċ gaċ cliar fa croḋ
fgoilteaċ fgol ag Brian n-a bun.

39. Garḋa an finnfréamh féaġainn faor
ir ceinéal mBréanainn im Brian ;
flaiṫ Callmhuiġe na gcall n-úr
clannbuiḋe a ċúl cam a ċiaḃ.

40. Bréanainn mac fearġna foil tair
naċ dearna olc baḋ olc d'fein,
a cor do Brian buḋ flán fein
ni geir do ċliar dá ráḋ fir.

41. Suirġe an fir ir í ar ar n-úiḋ
ag a tiġ ag naċ bí biaiḋ ;
biḋ ar éir a déanmha dáiḃ
fbéir ag mnáiḃ i mbéarla Briain.

42. Bioḃḃaiḋ fir na n-abra mall
ni mil ar a labra [acṫ] lionn ;
do-ċuaiḋ Ó Ruairc n-a ċeann
'r dar leam ni fuair cuairt dá ċionn.

43. Tearc ar domhun uile a fiaċ
moluḋ gaċ duine ar ó nDuaċ ;
mac Móire ni méin mar cáċ ;
gnáṫ léim na Bóinne tar bruaċ.

44. Deaġ an ionġnaḋ eineaċ Briain
ġan diombladh ġan deideaċ ṡgeoil ;
Teallaċ neaċaċ na n-eaċ min
dib teaċ na ndeaṫaċ fo deoid.

45. Brian mac Donnċaid dreaċ mar ġrir
ó Coḃtaiġ do ċreaċ go Duair
ġan ġrádh ar fṡéad ag fṡuaiġ náir
ar áir do bréaġ duain ar ndúair. D.

46. Taḋg Mág Aonġusa fuair ġnaoi
ruġ buaiḋ d'ú Aonġusa í ;
'r ġeal ad-ciar re dtéid n-a teaċ
noċo léiġ ar neaċ ġan ní.

47. Maġnus Mac Donnċaid dreaċ réid
do ċomċuiġ ġaċ teaċ n-a ċir
riar leir na huile rob áil
a báid re ġaċ nduine dib.

48. Donnċaḋ Mac Donnċaid Cinn Cnuic
croḋ ó Loċ Ġile do ġluair
tearc tóir naċ luiġeann fo láiṁ
noċo ċuireann ar dáil duair. Duair

49. Ó Duiḃġeannáin duine naoṁ
duine mar ġaċ nduine n-óġ
do linġ i leabaiḋ na naoṁ,
do ċinn Maoil Peaḋair ar Póil.

50. Maoil Meaḋa, bruinne mar bláṫ
nó mar eala ór buinne ar bruaċ,
a heineaċ ní ċeil ar ċléir,
ir do-ġeib ġo léir a luaċ.

51. Inġean Í Ruairc Mór rob mó
(ruairc) a róḋ ġurub róḋ nua ;
i n-aiġid ní heaḋ a-tá
fear na mná bur fáilid ua.

52. I ngaċ airmḋeaḃaiḋ re áir
d'Ú Ġairmleaḋaiġ ġémaḋ ġuair
Maoil Seaċlainn rin ir é i n-áḋ,
do-bir ré ar ġaċ ndán a duair.

53. Eachmharcach Ó hAnluain ard
do airg go Brion ir go Buair
gur tráig a rochuile rígh
rocaide fer díol a duair. D.

54. Mac Magnusa Muige Finn
Maol Eachlainn ar oirrdeirc clú
meinic leir bó do chur cheach
do cur iran teach i dtú. D.

55. Taidg mac Bruain mo flaith fem lá
a mhaith gorob mó fa mhó ;
eineach Taidg ní léig fe lár
noco mairg téid fe dán dó. D.

56. Magnus Cruachan ceilear mná
ní huachad beirear a bú ;
go mbeith fé fa dolud dó
an domun ir dó ba dú. D.

57. Muire máthair Íosa óig
ingean laicim aigead nua
dá mac go brogmann an fear
dá nach congbann fe head ua. D.

58. A mheic Muire 'r a mheic Dé,
ir léir deit gach duine i gcli ;
tuigid tú an tagra ar a dtá
gen go n-abra ach ú á í. Duair.

Translation

1. Brian of the Sionann is one of Banbha's chiefs—with good reason we say this ; his nobility is shown by all the heroes (*i.e.*, Í Néill) back to Niall.
2. Mead-feasting Niall, black-browed Eochaidh's son, whose bright hand was Banbha's key, had a brother, a Brian of Breagha.
3. This Brian (Mág Shamhradháin), scion of Brian, of the race of Brion, has kindly feeling for Niall's race as he listens to the harps (telling of) that line of successive kings.
4. This Brian, Donnchadh's son, reddener of spears, a wolf who can inflame troops to fury—famous are all the heroes I shall tell of in connection with him ; I can trace him back to Conn.
5. From Brian back to Conn Céadchathach, lord of harbours and of noble lands adorned with treasure, I will not leave unjudged any of the thirty-five good princes.
6. I can count them all, my words shall be exact ; I will not merely tell of them, I will give each one's name.
7. Donnchadh Cime of the royal stock, son of fresh Giolla na Naomh, son of white-chested Giolla Íosa, prince subject to no irksome tribute.
8. Son of Giolla na Naomh of heroic strength, never weak in face of foe, son of stern-mannered Muireadhach who had his warriors patrolling each ford.

. Son of Samhradhán bright and noble who takes his place in this just and proper enumeration, son of Conchobhar who loved satin-skinned hounds and slaughtered troops with deadly missiles.
. Son of Fearghal, warrior-son of Flann whose stroke in fight was furious, son of fair-haired Aonghus on whose noble slender hand depended the press of every battle.
. Son of Conchobhar, son of Tadhg Tír, whose battling—such battling !—wrought havoc, son of fight-loving Íomhaor—Ceat's exploits were renewed by his smooth princely hand.
. Son of Cosgrach, son of dark Dúnghal of fierce stout valour, son of Oireachtach who plundered no church, sturdy strong graceful sweet-spoken hero.
. Son of Eochaidh, son of gentle Maonach, son of justice-dealing Baithín, son of Bréanainn, son of generous Fearghna who quarrelled not with poets.
. Son of white-chested Fearghus, his slender hands red with slaughter (?), son of great Muireadhach from the Plain—no troop of western hero ever troubled him !
. Son of Eoghan, son of Duach, red of liver which was not fickle in anger being made for anger (?), son of Brion, son of well-loved Eochaidh—good guide for host was Eochaidh's seer !
. Son of Cairbre, son of Cormac of Cliu who joyed in uniting us, son of Art, son of Conn whose hounds never rested and who set yoke on all men.
. Here has been traced back to Conn the genealogy of this dark-tressed hero, Mág Shamhradháin, Brian of the goblets, goodly chess-king, close akin to Conn.
. Going rapidly back to Conn of the Hundred Fights I, as a vessel floating with the current, have brought Conn's scion, for whom we need no longer wait, a branch unbending neath shower.
. Conn Céadchathach and his race—wise his descendants beyond all ; to Conn's scion belongs Teallach Eachach, a fresh unplundered wood.
. The Chief of Teallach Eachach has poetry (addressed to him), every tale mentions him ; be he present with his poets or away from them, his constant dream is of their care.
. When this Wolf, Brian son of Donnchadh, checks his rage and binds a peace he brings about God's wish for all.
. Brian's contentious warriors here in the East are never caught in strait whence they cannot escape ; lavish with their kine are Bréanainn's race, the host from great Fréamha in Midhe.
. This young warrior who shirks no wounding, this hero of the coloured shoes from the Sionann, this slender-handed Prince of Magh Sléacht—not greater were Mac Céacht and Ceat than he !
. A constant purchaser of poems, a man whose hand is unrivalled (?) in generous mood (?), a maintainer of all poets, is Brian ; this is no flattery of him.
. The poets of the land are in his house, their bands abiding near him ; every company of them hies to Brian of Bealach Broin ; 'tis his wish that his folk imitate him.
. One wishes everywhere to seek out Brian as one seeks Teamhair and Brian's castle ; he is like Teamhair of the Three, and has outdone all the men of Fál.
. Cúl ó nGuaire is no place to be raided, that pleasant home of the Hero of Botha, sheltering the scion of Conn and Corc from wind and rain ; 'tis a castle whose commands are the most steadily obeyed in all the world.
. Brian, harrier of the Daol, lover of refreshing banquets, hero whose brightness gleams more splendidly than satin—he has the same effect on poets as the bright wine they drink.
. The stake (?) the (image of a) man standing on Magh Sléacht, is fraught with horror ; Sruth Gráinne, that clear most fair stream, never ceases its moaning as it flows through the wood.
. Ceann Cruaiche owned by Brian was (once) a blessing and his land's ornament, great the benefit its honour brought, it was not the least of Éire's druids.
. The Chief of the Druids was (once) head of that folk (of Teallach Eachach ?) ; many the folk now dead whom Magh Sléacht enticed to mount the accursed stone with the blood of dread killings flowing on it.
. Ceann Cruaiche standing on the great plain—the (thought of the) multitude it slew as they prostrated themselves—horror beyond battle-slaughter !—makes faint the women from all parts (as they pass by).
. Thrice eight battalions—doomed troop !—died, alas ! on the plain without blood of battle-weapon on them.
. This poem recalls to us the most famous slaughter ever known in Inis Fáil ; the monuments of it still stand on the smooth plain around Teamhair's King buried there.
. Tighearnmhas of the swift galleys, supreme lord and prince of spears, came to the place of Ceann Cruach and was slain by him.

36. Achadh Fearta, home of stout heroes, where the tombs of our forbears lie side b side—its name comes from the tombs of the noble Gaoidhil on that stone-strew plain, and is not forgotten (?)
37. But the good fortune of Brian scion of Brian has drawn from the land beneath yo a compensating blessing; his rule over the surface of those tomb-covered field means that the seventh Plague of Eire is buried for ever.
38. Beann Coilctheach, like Beann Eadair in wealth and produce, is his, poets lookin to its wealth; Brian has there a poet's school-house and cares for it.
39. Bréanainn's race being in his ancestry, wise is Brian's courteous noble stock; yello and curling the back-hair, waving the side-hair of the Prince of fresh-hazelle Callmhagh.
40. Fearghna's soft-haired son Bréanainn who never violated a Feis—even of him a po may assert that he has been outdone by Brian—on whom may blessing fall!
41. Love of this hero—we see it well—shall ever be felt by ladies (even those) who a not in his castle; if he has spoken love to them they will ever remember his word
42. For the foes of this noble-browed hero his words are not dipped in honey but in al Ó Ruairc came (submitting) to him, and—I know well—got no visit in retur
43. What any man owed him is all but fully paid, and all men sing the praise of this sci of Duach; Mór's son is unlike others in his ways; the Bóinn is ever brimming ove
44. We need not wonder at Brian's lavishness, never decried, never challenged; 'tis t Lords of Teallach Eachach on their glossy steeds that provide his ever-smoki kitchen.
45. Donnchadh's son, glowing-faced Brian, scion of Cobhthach, Hero of Nás—often raids as far as the Buais, not sparing his steed; easily a poem entices from hi my guerdon.
46. Tadhg Mág Aonghusa enjoys (his folk's) favour—this has brought all success to t scion of Aonghus; gladly is his voice heard by all who visit his house, he lets no depart without gift.
47. Smooth-faced Maghnus Mac Donnchaidh visits every house in his land; he wou fain provide for all in them, for he loves them all.
48. Donnchadh Mac Donnchaidh of Ceann Cnuic brings home cattle from Loch Gil what troop obeys him not? he need give them no reward to get them to muster!
49. Maoilpheadar Ó Duibhgheannain, that holy man the peer of saints, has sped i their resting-place; he surpassed even Paul.
50. Maoilmheadha (Brian's wife), whose breast if white as flower or as swan on riv bank, has never disguised her generous love of poets—and gets good reward for
51. May Mór (Brian's mother) daughter of Ó Ruairc grow in greatness; bright her fort —may it never fade; not now alive is the husband of that lady whose descenda are so happy.
52. Ó Gairmleadhaigh, eager for any fight however dangerous, is a true Maoilsheachlo in his fortune; he gives its due reward to every poem.
53. Great Eachmharcach Ó hAnluain plundered as far as Bior and the Buais with troop to which he distributed prizes till his kingly store was drained.
54. Famed Maoilsheachluinn Mac Maghnusa of Magh Fionn—how often has he sen cow from his *creach* to the house where I live!
55. Tadhg son of Brian, ever my prince—may his greatness ever grow! Happy he w is poet to Tadhg for he is never forgotten by Tadhg's generous heart.
56. Maghnus of Cruacha where so many ladies dwell—many are the kine he seiz The whole world should be subject to his tribute.
57. Mary, mother of holy Jesus, white-faced lady, was daughter of Joachim; t mankind now serves Mary's Son, mankind on whom he (Joachim) bestowe grand-son.
58. O Son of Mary, Son of God, thou seest the heart of every living man; thou un standest the plea he makes, though he say no more than "Ú," "Á," "Í."

NOTES

Magauran MS, p. 2.

2*a*. nʊɪan. 3*c*. -rnA. *d*. bɹɪan, bɹɪon are not distinguished. 4*b*. h-abe ʊo ʊe. 4*cd*. tuaɪʊim : ʊuaɪling. 11*d*. -ɹuɪɹ. 12*d*. -caɪʒ. 15*a*. ɪ. *c*. bɹ *d*. ʊɹuim (?). 19*ab*. clʊinne : ċlʊinne. *c*. ʊuaí ċu. 22*a*. ɹuɪɹ. 24*b*. ɪn bʊʒċe 25*c*. be. 27*a*. ʊoċ (?) 29*c*. a river-name? but *cf*. Onom. 30*d*. ? *cf*. of tɹɪan DiD. 31*a*. ɹɪn. 37*a*. aʒ bɹ. oɪ bɹ. 39*a*. ɪnnɹɹen. 40*b*. *c*. ɹlan ɹeɪɹ *cf*. WW slan. 41*b*. ʊɪʒ. *d*. mbɹ. 42*b*. ɪʒ. *d*. ċɪ. mbɹ. *d*. ʊeċaċ. 45*d*. ʊuaɪɹ. 46*d*. neaċ *abest*. 47*c*. nuɪle. baɪʒ. 48*a*. † 1310. 40*a*. † 1296. 51*b*. ɹuaɪɹc *abest*. *c*. anaɪġɪó nɪ.; *cf*. ɪ ɜ 52*b*. † 1307. *c*. aʒ. 54*ab*. † 1316. 56*a*. mná *abest*. 57*d*. ʊo naċ.

BLESSED ROSE PHILIPPINE DUCHESNE

Born 1769—Died 1852—Beatified 1940

BY MOTHER MARY XAVIER, S.H.C.J.

SO often in studying the lives of the Saints one is depressed by the record of holiness obtained, it would seem, almost without a struggle. The fault probably lies with the biographer's passion for edifying details, and we owe a real debt of gratitude to the Society of the Sacred Heart for the very human, as well as very inspiring, record which has been preserved of the life of Rose Philippine Duchesne.

The 'Duchesne character' was already a proverb in the province of Dauphiny when Rose Philippine was born in 1769, and the phrase implied admiration tempered by an acknowledgement of a strength of will which did not easily brook contradiction. Philippine's father had considerable ability for the textile business, on which the family fortunes depended, and an intense interest in politics, favouring the Liberal party then coming to the fore in France. Her mother was a Périer, a family closely linked to the Duchesnes in politics and social position, and both Périers and Duchesnes played a prominent part in the provincial Parlement which fought so stoutly to maintain its independence. Grenoble was their natural setting, and the love of places as well as of persons was a strongly marked feature in Philippine's character, tenacious of all it valued, though capable of reckless generosity in the service of God.

The early years of Mother Duchesne's life show us a happy, care-free childhood spent in the comradeship of a large family. Looking back on this period, Philippine loved to recall how, when she was about eight years old, a Jesuit Father came to Grenoble from the far distant mission of Louisiana and held her spellbound by stories of the Indians for whom he had been working. "From that time," she wrote, "the names of Propaganda, Foreign Missions, of priests destined for them

of religious in far-away lands made my heart thrill." Th heroism of the martyrs had already fired her childish imagina tion, and now the stories of a missionary gave her the firs glimpse of a life of immolation in the service of Christ.

Following the family tradition, Philippine went to th school kept by the Visitation nuns at Ste Marie d'en Haut where many Duchesne women had consecrated their lives t God. It seemed that Philippine would carry on the tradition for although she was early withdrawn from school, the seed o a religious vocation had taken root in her heart on the da of her First Communion. With characteristic eagerness sh had begun to lead the life of a nun, as far as she could, whils still at Ste Marie, and those who watched were amazed a her power of perseverance. But in the family circle nothin was known of these ambitions. Philippine joined in th amusements of her sisters, taking dancing lessons with th same concentration that she displayed in the study of algebra Hers was a nature intense in all it undertook, and she threw herself wholeheartedly into whatever she did, for the Duchesn character did not wish to fail, even in trifles.

Whilst Philippine prayed for light and strove to wait i patience for an opportunity to follow her vocation, her parent unwittingly precipitated the crisis by proposing a marriag alliance. For the first time she revealed her desire to leav all for Christ, and as testimony of her earnestness she set her self, with characteristic rigour, to show by her daily life tha she had determined to abandon the world. Waiting seeme intolerable to her eager spirit, and in 1787, having persuade one of her aunts to accompany her on a visit to Ste Mari d'en Haut, Philippine impulsively decided that she woul never again leave the convent. Her aunt was obliged t return home with the news that the deed was accomplishe as far as Philippine was concerned, and no persuasion fro her family could move the young postulant from her resolve Not that she was lacking in love for her home—her reminis cences of the period bear witness to the struggle she had wit her own feelings—but to Philippine the Divine Call wa peremptory and delay unthinkable.

At first all went smoothly and Philippine, still full of apostolic zeal, saw in the educational work of the Sisters the means of gaining souls to God. To her delight she found in the library a collection of books by Jesuit authors, for the spirit of St. Ignatius appealed to her strongly and the devotion to the Sacred Heart, familiar to her since her schooldays, gave fresh impetus to her fervour. The examples of the Saints were her inspiration and she was especially drawn to St. Francis Xavier, whose missionary achievements filled her with holy envy.

Whilst the Visitandine novice worked and prayed in her happy convent home, the storm clouds of the French Revolution were gathering on the horizon. Her father, aware of the growing antagonism to religion and himself infected by the coldness of disbelief, refused to give his consent to his daughter's profession in 1789, only permitting her to remain in the convent on condition that she did not take vows till she was twenty-five. By 1791 the laws against religious orders were in full force, and the Visitandines were obliged to give up Ste Marie. Philippine would have dearly loved to follow her vocation in an Italian convent of the same Order, but her father was adamant. Sorrowfully the novice put off the habit she had received with such joy three years before, and took her place once more in her home. A cousin, expelled like herself from a Visitation Convent, joined Philippine and they clung as far as possible to their Rule, rising at 5 a.m. and following the spiritual exercises of the Community to the best of their ability.

For the next eight years Philippine saw the horrors of the Revolution. Her own dear convent became a prison for the victims of the Reign of Terror, and she gave herself generously to the works of mercy which lay ready to her hand. After the death of her mother in 1793 she was no longer needed at home, and an attempt to live with her grandmother ended ignominiously. The old lady possessed to the full the failings of the Duchesne temperament, and Philippine was unable to satisfy her. With one of those flashes of self-revelation which sometimes do more for the soul than any number of

sermons, the girl saw in her grandmother what she herself might so easily become. She wrote to her sister: "The same blood flows in our veins, and already we feel in ourselves symptoms of her impetuous disposition. How much I fear that the resemblance may increase in time and that it may make us one day the bane and torment of our families."

Philippine had already renounced the property which came to her at her mother's death, and in 1794 she joined a friend, an ex-nun like herself, in Grenoble. They lived very simply and humbly, earning their living by their needle and devoting themselves to the poor, the sick and the imprisoned. By degrees others joined them and formed a little congregation known as "Les Dames de la Miséricorde," whose heroism in the years of trouble that followed is worthy of the highest praise. Priests had been driven into hiding and the dying longed for the comforts of religion. If it were humanly possible to bring them a priest, these women did so; and if not, they prayed by their bedsides, preparing them for their end. The death of Robespierre brought a respite from suffering for those in prison, but the years of Revolution had left fearful traces on the young who had grown up amidst scenes of horror. After a pilgrimage to La Louvesc, Philippine decided to imitate her beloved St. John Francis Regis and devote herself to these neglected little ones. By 1800 she had succeeded in establishing classes for poor children, especially boys, who were most in need of help. The work was beset with difficulties, for the noise of the ragamuffins she succeeded in collecting gave offence in the house where she lodged, and she admitted, very simply, that "it was a trial to be pursued in the streets by the greetings of these disreputable-looking creatures. They pointed me out to their parents who were vexed because I had told the boys not to work on Sundays. If it had not been for the thought of St. Francis, I should have given up my apostolate."

Meanwhile the thought of her religious vocation still haunted Philippine. Her dear convent, Ste Marie d'en Haut stood empty on the hillside and she longed to repeople with nuns what was now not much better than a ruin. Having

tormed Heaven with characteristic energy and determination—Philippine's prayers were as intense as her actions—he undertook the double task of persuading the dispossessed nuns to return and of acquiring the property on their behalf. The latter feat was achieved by her own personal influence with M. de Savoie-Rollin and her Périer cousins, who obtained a deed of possession for Philippine in December, 1801.

By December 14th she and a poor girl whom she persuaded to accompany her took possession. Hardships never daunted Mother Duchesne: the convent was open to all the winds, and the bitter cold of winter found free entry into the chapel which lacked door and windows. Two or three more Visitandines joined her and when on Christmas Eve, before Midnight Mass, she and her companions put on again the habit of their Order, Philippine's joy was full.

Much still remained to be done, and the delay on the part of the other members of the Community was perhaps natural. They had grown old and were physically little fitted to face the real poverty and hardships entailed in a return to their convent. In Passion Week 1802 the Superior, Mme de Murinais, arrived, bringing with her companions as old as herself. A Retreat for ladies was preached in the convent chapel during Holy Week and Philippine's hopes ran high. But when the Feast of the Visitation came on July 2nd, she had known the full bitterness of failure. The Rule was no longer observed, the school showed signs of neglect, and it was clear that, in spite of the many magnificent examples in France of convents being refounded, Ste Marie d'en Haut would not flourish again. The novice was in a difficult position: she was young, and the accidental fact of the property being held in her name added to the suspicion in which she was held by her elders. Humbly she offered to go away if she were the obstacle to good; but the die was cast, and on August 26th, only five months after their arrival, Philippine saw the Superior and Community leave the convent she had acquired with such high aspirations.

The only consolation left to Philippine was in the sympathy of Father Rivet, who had encouraged her from the first and

who now spoke to her of a new Society of nuns, founded in 1800 by Mother Barat, whose Rule was based on that of St. Ignatius and whose apostolic work of teaching was inspired by love of the Sacred Heart. His own sister, Mme Rivet, went to live at Ste Marie d'en Haut where eight children still formed the nucleus of a school, and by the following year they were joined by two postulants, all hoping to be affiliated to the new Society, then known as "Les Dames de la Foi."

The months went by in waiting. Legal recognition was obtained for the school, and the little community was buoyed up by the hope of a visit from the Foundress. At last, three years after Philippine had re-entered Ste Marie d'en Haut, the great day came. Mother Barat herself arrived with two companions to take possession of the convent in the name of her infant Society. A priest who knew Mother Duchesne had written to Mother Barat, urging her to go to Grenoble, "You will find there," he wrote, "companions who will be a help to you, especially one; and if there were only that one, she would be worth seeking at the other end of the world." The two had never met and Mother Barat, young and diffident by nature, was unprepared for the ardour of the elder woman's surrender, as Philippine prostrated herself swiftly at the feet of her new Superior.

The ten years that followed, from 1805 to 1815, were perhaps the happiest in Mother Duchesne's life. She found in Mother Barat both a friend and a guide, and the spirit of the newly-founded Society of the Sacred Heart fulfilled all her ideals. The apostolic work gave scope for her zeal, and the love of the Sacred Heart made all things easy. Gradually she grew in gentleness and humility, more patient with herself as well as with others. The school grew and postulants became more numerous, whilst in Philippine's heart the longing to give yet more increased. She dreamt of the savages who knew not Christ and urged Mother Barat to allow her to volunteer for work in the mission field. The holy Foundress beset with difficulties, sympathised with her daughter's longings, but had to beg her to wait patiently till God made His will clear. Meanwhile Mother Duchesne could and did

ork for her beloved Indians by her prayers and mortifications. er generosity was unbounded, and Mother Barat wrote ter a visit to Grenoble: "Your good Mother Duchesne aches in the school all day, sits up at night with the sick ildren, has the whole exterior management of the house, ut she never shows distress and scarcely seems to be over-orked. What a valiant woman!"

In 1815 Mother Duchesne was summoned to Paris for the ouncil which was to draw up the Constitution of the Society; nd though it cost her much to leave her dear Grenoble, she as encouraged by the thought that Paris might be for her ut a stepping stone to the Missions. Instead she found erself named Secretary-General and permanently attached o the Mother House to be founded in the Rue des Postes. hither, in 1817, came Mgr. Dubourg, Bishop of Louisiana, hose visit brought to Philippine her longed-for permission o carry the love of the Sacred Heart to the New World. elays and difficulties were not lacking, but in February 818 Mother Duchesne and her companions left Paris for ordeaux, where they were to join Mgr. Martial, Bishop ubourg's Vicar-General. She was then forty-nine years ld.

In the two long months that followed, when the boat was ssed by storm after storm, Mother Duchesne had plenty of me to realise the magnitude of her sacrifice. She had left ot only home and country but a dearly-loved Superior on hose counsels she had relied implicitly for the past thirteen ears, and she herself was for the first time in a position of uthority, Superior of her four inexperienced companions. nglish was to prove a great difficulty—for Mother Duchesne n almost insuperable one—but the language problem was not o acute then as later. Louisiana had belonged to France ntil Napoleon sold it to the United States in 1803, and the eriod of Spanish occupation in the previous century had not ft as much mark on the language as on the architecture of ne country. What had suffered most in all these changes ad been the spiritual life of the province, transferred from ne diocese of Quebec (for Louisiana had been first colonised

by French Canadians) to that of Santiago, then to Havan and yet again to Baltimore. It was at the earnest request Bishop Carroll of Baltimore that Mgr. Dubourg had bee appointed administrator of the Louisiana territory, soon t be divided into the northern province of Missouri and th southern territory (which retained the old name of Louisian round New Orleans. The newly appointed Bishop had bee seeking help in Europe when he visited the Sacred Hea Convent, and the task which lay before the nuns was compl cated by the poverty and lack of organisation in a huge dioce where everything had still to be begun.

On 29 May 1818, Feast of the Sacred Heart, the bo anchored twenty miles south of New Orleans and Moth Duchesne's emotion became overpowering. With a quic impulse of love she knelt and kissed the marshy ground they landed, and her face was radiant with joy. The kin Ursuline nuns at New Orleans welcomed the newcomers wi truly sisterly affection, and there Mother Duchesne had h first sight of Indians. She longed to begin work, but on again a period of waiting was forced upon her. No wo came from the Bishop who had already returned to St. Lou and for two months the nuns waited at New Orleans. T privations of the voyage had left their mark, and Moth Duchesne developed symptoms of scurvy. So ill was s that it seemed quite probable that she might only see h Promised Land and die, but the devoted Ursulines nursed h back to health, and in July she was fit for the month's journ by river which lay between her and St. Louis.

When they landed, the nuns were appalled at the poverty the Bishop's quarters and began to realise the nature of t difficulties that lay before them. The first disappointme was Mgr. Dubourg's refusal to allow them to open a house St. Louis itself, as had been originally intended. He w already over-burdened with his effort to replace the log shan which served as a Cathedral by a more permanent buildi His own 'palace' was of stone, but earth took the place mortar and it had neither door nor windows. It was decid that the first convent of the Sacred Heart should be esta

shed at St Charles, more than twenty miles away and on the ar side of the Missouri River. A small log cabin was rented y the nuns, who hoped that a convent might soon be built. To Mother Duchesne, as to the nuns in France, this move to St Charles seemed the deathblow of their hopes for a prosperous foundation, but with undaunted faith and courage he pioneers set to work. For their food they depended nainly on the fruit of the orchard—for bread was a luxury—nd even when two or three boarders came to share their ome, money was pitifully scarce.

The next period of Mother Duchesne's life is one of heroic ndeavour to keep the flag flying in the face of odds which would have daunted most hearts. Not only was she faced vith abject poverty, but there seemed to be so little hope for he future. As she wrote to Mother Barat, "The greatest nd most painful trial is our total lack of success in our labours." And on her side, the Foundress wisely refused o send fresh subjects until she had reason to think that there vas promise of permanent work. A few boarders, a tiny parochial school—that was all, while the bitter winter cold nade life well-nigh unendurable. In the following year the Bishop advised a move to Florissant, nearer St. Louis and on the same side of the river, but still very unpromising rom the point of view of a boarding school. A fresh difficulty arose. Mother Duchesne simply could not bring herself to abandon souls whom whe was helping and, rather than close he day school, suggested dividing their tiny community and eaving two at St Charles, whilst three made the foundation t Florissant. But Mother Barat forbade the division of orces, and in 1819 St Charles had to be abandoned. The baggage had to be transported by carts to the river and thence erried across. Mothers Octavie and Eugénie crossed with he five children who were accompanying the nuns to their ew home, and last of all came Mother Duchesne and Sister Marguerite, driving before them the cows, calves and hickens.

Florissant was even poorer than St Charles: the log-abin lent them by the Bishop contained only one room and

an attic. However, in spite of obstacles, classes began an the school soon rose to nine in number. The nuns combine the work of teachers and farmhands, milking the cows, cleanin out the stables, and trying to make space by the simple metho of putting up the beds at night and clearing them away in th morning. But a new brick building was being erected fo them, and on Christmas Eve they took possession, trampin the two miles with stockings over their shoes so as not to sli on the ice. The Midnight Mass was said in the convent chapel and next day the Bishop came himself to encourage ther With a shrewd sense of values he wrote to the Mother Genera begging for more nuns and saying of those already sent " Mother Duchesne is a saint: Mothers Octavie and Eugén are angels of perfection." Poor Mother Duchesne, her sanctit was won at the price of many and bitter sufferings, and h very humility added to her trials. Convinced of her ow unfitness for the post of Superior, she was slow to use th extraordinary powers given her by Mother Barat. Eve failure she attributed to her own faults, every success to h companions, for whom she had always words of praise. Sh felt that they were better liked than she, more able to wrest with that unpronounceable English, and by degrees they be came to doubt her practical ability. To write to France an receive an answer took anything from six to ten months, an the little colony suffered much from loneliness and want postulants.

But heroism cannot pass unnoticed. Among these earl pupils were to be found the nuns of the future who, trained and shaped by Mother Duchesne, were to form the corner stone of the American novitiate. In 1820 this had still t come: but one English-speaking postulant soon presente herself, and Mother Duchesne began to see in Florissant th novitiate of the future. The following year, three of th boarders entered the Society, and the first clothing of a coa jutrix Sister, Mary Layton, was a great consolation to th overburdened Community. So slender did the chances o success seem to those at home that M. Duchesne wrote offerin to pay his sister's return journey. With her strong faith

ilippine thanked him for his generosity, but told him that would do better to pay the travelling expenses of two more ssionaries. Mother Barat promised reinforcements and owed Mother Duchesne to accept a proposal for a new undation near New Orleans, at Grand Coteau in Louisiana. other Eugénie Audé was sent as Superior of the new founda-on in 1821.

The story of Grand Coteau and the houses founded from it rms part of Mother Duchesne's life only in so far as the new uses were for a time under her care. She herself was to go working in Missouri, humbled by the contrast between other Audé's prosperous schools and her own apparent lure. In 1822 the community at Grand Coteau was in-eased by one of the second party to come from France, a eathearted Irishwoman, Mother Xavier Murphy, who had en brought up by the Ursuline nuns at Cork. She was ick to appreciate Mother Duchesne's heroism when they et that summer; for Philippine, alarmed by the reports of health at Grand Coteau, arrived bringing with her two of e first American novices. Her journey home had to be ade *via* New Orleans. Yellow fever was raging in the district, d when the boat reached Natchez, Mother Duchesne and r only companion, a child from the boarding school, were t on shore as the captain refused to keep her on board in her ffering state. Whilst on board the *Hecla* she had spent rself in the service of the sick and dying; but now, in her n extreme need, she was abandoned and could find no shelter Natchez, which barred its doors against the dreaded fever. nally she found lodging in the house of a fellow-sufferer, d lying in the bed of a woman who had died two weeks fore and using her very sheets, Mother Duchesne fought fever. The priest for whom she sent in her illness was able to bring her the Viaticum for which she longed, but succeeded in finding better lodging for her and the child. ey were able to board the next boat for St Louis and found their horror that the *Hecla* which had abandoned them d herself met with disaster. The boiler had burst, yellow er had carried off thirteen victims, and the rest were

stranded on the inhospitable banks of the Mississippi. Mothe Duchesne's own boat grounded on a sandbank and not ti late in November did she reach Florissant, having left Ne Orleans on September 14th.

At Florissant fresh trouble awaited her. The school ha dwindled sadly and only two boarders were left who coul afford fees. Her letter is characteristic: "I thought a first of sending home those who cannot pay, but they woul soon lose the faith. We prefer to be deprived of all and t keep them." Next year brought a great joy, for the Jesuit from Maryland came to Florissant, and Mother Duchesne ardent faith saw in their house "a nursery of Saints an Apostles." To her it was, as she wrote, "a greater happine to clean the boots of these missionaries than to be Queen France," and novices and Superior alike benefited by t spiritual help brought them by the Jesuit Fathers.

In 1827 a foundation was at last made at St Louis, thank to the generosity of an Irishman, Mr. Mullanphy, and tw years later the house at St Charles was reopened. Moth Duchesne went from Florissant to St Louis, but the scho there grew so slowly that it seemed unlikely to succeed. T years went by in poverty and hardship—"I am at an age wrote Mother Duchesne, "when one has nothing but miseries but she was as eager as ever to secure for herself the wor things and the poorest lodging in the house. In 1833 Moth Audé was named Assistant General for the American House now six in number, and in the following year Mother Duches was transferred from St Louis back to Florissant. News ha reached her that her beloved Grenoble home, Ste Marie d'e Haut, had had to be given up, and now it seemed clear th Florissant, the house which had been the scene of her labou since 1820, would soon be closed. In 1836 the Jesuit Missi to the Kickapoos filled her with holy envy, for Philippine desire to work for the Indians had never left her. When 1840 she was finally relieved of her office as Superior, s found the opening for which she had waited so long and patiently. Mother Galitzin, who had been sent to vi Louisiana and Missouri on Mother Barat's behalf, yielded to H

e Smet's entreaty that a colony of Sacred Heart nuns should e sent to Sugar Creek where there was an Indian settlement. hree nuns were destined for the work and Mother Duchesne, t the age of seventy-two, obtained permission to join the arty to help with the sewing and house work. When her eakness seemed likely to prevent her departure, the Jesuit charge of the mission pleaded on her behalf. "Let her ome. If she cannot work, she will forward the success of ne mission by her prayers."

When the travellers reached Sugar Creek, Fr. Verhaegen resented the venerable Mother to the Indians as one who for irty-five years had longed and prayed to come to them; nd there are few more touching pictures than that of the aged eligious, unable to speak a word of the native dialect, being olemnly greeted by the seven hundred men and women who ad come to receive the nuns. The Indians were quick to ecognise her holiness and named her reverently "the woman ho prays always." It seemed that she would end her life ere in the little Indian settlement which brought her such oy, but fresh disappointments were in store for her. It ecame apparent that the food, poor as that of the Indians nemselves, could not maintain her strength, and in 1842 Bishop Kenrick brought the valiant old missionary back to t Charles. Her obedience was unquestioning—"God knows ne reason for this recall and that is enough"—but in a letter one of the missionary priests Mother Duchesne voiced omething of what the return had cost her: "I have just een all my wishes frustrated and my hopes destroyed . . . . . can only adore the designs of God in depriving me of the bject of my desires."

At St Charles Mother Duchesne was able to render little cts of service, teaching in the parish school and praying onstantly. But in 1846 came the dreaded news that Floris- ant was to be closed. Though nearing her eightieth year, Mother Duchesne had offered to remain there with one other ister for the sake of the parochial school, but it could not be, nd her only consolation was to hear later that other teaching isters had been found to carry on the school. St Charles too

was under sentence of death, and the venerable foundress o the house was sent to St Louis pending its suppression. At th last moment a letter came from Mother Barat sanctioning it continuance, and Mother Duchesne was able to return to he first American home. There she was found by her niece Mother Jouve, whom Mother Barat's delicate charity had sen to Missouri to visit her aunt before going to a new foundatio in Canada. Her letter to France is eloquent :—

"I can say like St. Antony : 'I have seen Paul in the desert.' have seen a great saint who is nearing the end of her life. She is unde the obedience of Mother St Cyr—one of the first pupils of Florissan She feels the inaction to which she is reduced, for she is without an employment save that afforded by her needle. They venerate her as relic ; but to my way of thinking, it makes her sad to be only relic . . . Prayer is her only refuge and the greater part of the da passes before the Blessed Sacrament."

Four more years of loneliness and prayer were to prepar Mother Duchesne for her homegoing. Her failing sight soo made even needlework impossible, and the lightest occupation were beyond her strength. Two days before the end she wa visited by Mother Cutts and Mother du Rousier. The latte had been a child in the Sacred Heart school at Poitiers whe Mother Duchesne halted there for a day on her journey t Bordeaux and New Orleans. The inspiration of her exampl never left Anna du Rousier, and now she knelt to ask the ol nun's blessing before she journeyed to South America, there t found the first house of the Sacred Heart.

On November 18th 1852 Philippine Duchesne died. I her humility she had said that once she was dead everythin would progress, and her words were prophetic. From th seed she sowed in Missouri sprang up strong shoots, and h children spread the devotion to the Sacred Heart throughou the New World. Father de Smet, whose missionary enthus asm had found a kindred spirit in Mother Duchesne, wro after her death : "No greater saint ever died in Missou nor perhaps in the whole Union." She has left to her Siste the undying memory of her heroic generosity in the service God, and the Church has now crowned her faith by the solem rites of Beatification. Blessed be God in His Saints.

BENJAMIN WOODWARD, RUSKIN AND THE O'SHEAS

BY C. P. CURRAN, M.A.

DIRECTORIES like dictionaries make fine confused reading, but I know only one that appeals as well to the pictorial nse. The solitary issue of Shaw's *New City Pictorial Direc-ry* (1850) has a series of plates showing in outline the elevation the principal Dublin streets between the northern quays nd St. Stephen's Green. The Dublin thus revealed is un-npaired eighteenth century. The unbroken skyline, the niformity of style, the level fenestration, the quiet welcome of ide hall-doors, the modest decoration of the shop-fronts nticipating Ruskin's demand that in town-architecture trades-en should be put on honest and equal terms—all bespeak a ommunity of well-mannered, regular fellows. The modish djective " sedate " inevitably imposes itself. Nothing can e imagined further removed from competitive or individual eakishness. This mid-century date draws a line between rder and the confusion out of which we are now dimly ruggling. It represents the last moment when builders uilt, almost unconsciously, in a generally accepted manner nd did not revert to the rag-bag of history to indulge incon-ruously a personal whim. A few years later Dame Street nd College Green were beginning to present the appearance ith which we are now familiar—banks, tailors and insurance ompanies competing with each other in a catch-as-catch-can Victorian-Venetian Gothic amid relics of old decency.

Ruskin, in spite of himself, was the innocent architect of is misfortune. The Gothic revival had, of course, been well nder way before his birth. Hudson at the Hermitage and harlemont at Marino had been building Gothic ruins and osamund Bowers in Walpole's spirit of romantic antiquarian-m. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, under their Act of 833, had built for the Establishment spiky little churches

of dessicated Gothic ; and landowners, with Francis Johnsto and the Morrisons as their architects, were erecting for them selves such castellations in " modern Gothic " as, in the word of Brewer (1825), " impart a grateful air of ancient baronia character to scenes averse from the delicate refinements Palladio."

Ruskin had brought to bear upon this movement all th copious reserves of his vulnerable and now perhaps undul depreciated genius. He gave the revival a particular ber towards Venetian Gothic, with its varied texture and colou incrustations ; while, on another plane and with apostol fervour, he pushed to its last term the implication he saw all Gothic art that it necessarily involves the liberty ar happiness of the craftsman. In both these positions h support in practice came from Irishmen, to whose ability h gave generous testimony—the architect, Benjamin Woodwar and the brothers O'Shea, stonecutters, to whose fading memor these few pages are devoted. Half-forgotten though they ar their names are none the less on the record, as how could be otherwise since their orbits touched the omniloque Ruskin and the pre-Raphaelite movement, the most garrulo and least important art-movement in history.

We can follow Woodward's career easily enough from th time he emerges as a new force in Thomas Deane's firm Cork about 1845, but of his earlier thirty years, information surprisingly scanty. Born apparently in 1815, we kno nothing of his parentage nor of his education. The *D.N.* finds place for him only in a supplemental volume. I Crone's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* says that he was bo probably in Dublin about 1815. The obituary notice in t *Irish Builder* (1 July 1861) and the article in the *D.N.B.* (whi follows it) are content with saying that he was a nati of Ireland and that, articled to a civil engineer in this country, h medieval interest turned him to architecture. I have alwa understood that he was a Corkman, where the name persis born probably in the county, since the name does not appe in the Cork Directories 1810-1824. Conjecturally he m have been a grandson or other relation of that polemic

shop of Cloyne, Dr. Richard Woodward (died 1794), to om Fr. O'Leary inscribed his lines on Shandon :

Party-coloured like its people,
Red and white stands Shandon steeple.

Richard Woodward, invited over to Ireland by Mr. nolly, became chaplain to the Earl of Buckingham, en Irish Viceroy, and was introduced by him to ecclesias- al preferment by way of St. Werburgh's and the deanery Clogher. Before he became Bishop of Cloyne in 1781, son, Benjamin, was born to him in Tyrone in 1769, o joined the Irish Bar in 1792 and was M.P. for Midleton 1794 and 1797. The identity of Christian name and his own early association with Cork make it reasonable to ppose that the architect was of this family. A more tenuous k is Mr. Strickland's statement that Brocas painted portraits th of the Bishop and of Thomas Deane whose firm the young oodward entered. If so, the bishop's portrait must have en posthumous. The Deanes at this date had been builders d contractors in Cork for two generations, the founder ming from Donaghadee *via* Kinsale. Mary Kearns, Thomas eane's mother, was a remarkable woman, carrying on the siness with notable success after her husband's death. e took an active part in superintending the construction of e Haulbowline naval works, upon which nearly £200,000 ere spent, and her name is embedded in " Passage est "[1] :—

But not forgetting Haulbowline Island
That was constructed by Mrs. Deane,
Herself's the lady that stowed the water
To supply the vessels upon the main.

Thomas Deane was himself an architect of some distinction d a man of liberal taste. He had a share in establishing rk's first school of design and will be remembered for his rly patronage of John Hogan. Hogan passed from scrivenery the attorney Foote's office to apprenticeship under Deane,

[1] Crofton Croker : *Songs of Ireland.* For history of the Deanes see *Irish Builder*, Feb. 1, and Coleman : *Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal, vol. 21.*

who recognised his special ability, gave him his first chisel employed him in wood-carving and sculptural enrichment and finally was urgent in recommending Hogan to devo himself wholly to the sculptor's art. Before Woodward advent Deane's work was classical—the Commercial Buildin won in 1811 in competition against Wilkins the architect the London National Gallery; classical also were his tw Savings Banks and Bank of Ireland and the vista of Gre George's Street, Cork, earned for him in his lifetime the tit of the Milesian Nash. His reputation shelters under the tw wings of Macaulay's eulogy of the Courthouse portico and th Queen's College: "A Corinthian portico which would honour to Palladio and a Gothic College worthy to stand in th High Street of Oxford." But although the *D.N.B.* (followin the *Irish Builder*, 1863, p. 49) gives Deane the credit of th portico, early nineteenth century authorities attribute th work more correctly to George Richard Paine[1]; and it pretty certain that Woodward is entitled to the chief credi for the second building. The college is Tudor Gothic, ar Woodward would appear to have introduced Deane to th new departure since his obituary writer speaks of Woodwa as "zealously cultivating mediævalism in his youth and *se taught* in the walk in which he has become distinguished. Deane's later work in Gothic, undertaken after Woodward death, shows no such distinction. Much of it is in Oxfor and the present opinion of it is expressed in Mr. Christoph Hobhouse's reference to the New Building, built in 1863 Christ Church facing the Meadows: "A vast and prick pile of bricks well-clothed with merciful creepers." The o Queen's College, Cork was the first building of importan with which Woodward was associated, and his last appearan in Cork seems to have been at the banquet given in 1850 Sir Robert Kane on the occasion of its opening.[2]

Becoming Deane's partner in 1852, Woodward fired the fir with new ambitions; and in 1853 the business, constitute as Sir Thomas Deane, Son and Woodward, opened the

[1] This opinion is confirmed by Mr. Henry Hill in the current issue of the *Cork Journ* It has been stated that Paine's name was erased from the Court-house.

[2] I owe this reference to the well-stored memory of Mr. Holland of Cork.

ce in Dublin at No. 3 Upper Merrion Street. The immediate
asion of this change was the building of the present
gineering School in Trinity College. The commission was
ered in limited competition; Woodward's design was
epted in 1853 and the building completed in 1855. Time
l more startling innovations have dulled the novelty of
oodward's invention. Regarded now as a pleasing, not
familiar example of Venetian Gothic, with wholly admir-
le stonecarving and a rich if rather exotic interior, this
ool would be still more familiar and pleasing if the adjoin-
grounds were flooded to the semblance of canals and lagoons.
essential and scholarly grace cannot however be challenged,
l it came to its contemporaries as a new revelation. Rossetti
w Allingham's attention to it when it was under con-
uction, and Allingham wrote in reply in May 1855: "Yester-
y in Dublin I saw but hastily the part-finished building in
inity College, which is after Ruskin's heart. Style early
netian, I suppose, with numberless capitals delicately
rved over with holly-leaves, shamrocks, various flowers,
ds and so on. There are also circular frames here and there
the wall, at present empty, to be filled no doubt with eyes
coloured stone. Ruskin has written to the architect, a
ung man, expressing his high approval of the plans; so
-and-by all you *cognoscenti* will be rushing over to examine
e Stones of Dublin." Already before completion this
corative stonecarving was attracting attention. Carried
the string courses, on porch and windows, and within on the
ir-case posts, its disciplined fidelity to the natural forms of
f, flower and animal is beyond praise. Ten years later,
Thomas Drew attributed to its example the satisfactory
sition of the carver's craft in Ireland. He wrote: "This
erhaps the least backward of all our art-trades . . . . Some
ars ago a great work, most important in its influence on
arts in this country, was erected under the auspices of the
e Mr. Woodward and Mr. Thomas N. Deane . . . . To this
narkable building and to this alone we trace the inaugura-
n of the great revolution in public taste which has since
ken place. The sculpture there, we believe, we owe to

native talent, and in its style there has been little better don since anywhere" (*Irish Builder*, 15th May 1866).

It is a pity that Sir Thomas Drew did not add to the prai of their work some personal details about the carvers who work barely escapes the anonymity which is the fate of mo Irish craftwork. It is, of course, the work of James O'She and his brother, who seem to have been brought up to Dubl by the architects. Nothing of their work appears to survi in Cork; but there is some reason to think that the carvi on the old Munster Bank, replaced by a classical edifice recent years, was of their hands. The original building w in the neo-Lombardic style, and the description of the sto work tallies with O'Shea handiwork.

Ruskin saw in this Trinity College building the realisati of his dreams. This unknown disciple had swallowed h gospel, hook, line and sinker. His sensitive scholarship ha not merely adapted to a modern purpose the architectur forms of Ruskin's favourite period, but he had practised what Ruskin always maintained was the manner of its workin He gave the craftsman an artist's liberty; he did not cont the details of design; the craftsmen were not his tools, b worked to their own fancy as his collaborators. This practi lay at the heart of Ruskin's teaching and is broadcast in h writings. The chief purpose, he wrote to Count Zorzi, "wi which twenty years ago I undertook my task of the histo of Venetian architecture was to show the dependence of beauty on the happiness and fancy of the workman." O fathers have told us how the O'Sheas used to bring in, fro their Sunday walks, the flowers and plants from which th would carve their stone. The practice can hardly have be novel; but it struck the imagination and remained in t memory of our citizens watching the O'Sheas at work. confirmed also another article in Ruskin's creed: "T first thing we have to ask of decoration is that it should indica strong liking . . . . better than our English way of liki nothing and professing to like triglyphs." It is true that f people collect triglyphs.

Academicism had a light hold upon our craftsmen, and

ossible that the improvisation and naturalism of the O'Sheas consciously relate back, beyond Adam decoration, to the oco spirit of the earlier mid-century. Rococo and Gothic ve certain affinities and exact the same spirit of liberty. 1866 Thomas Drew noted that an occasional competent ccodore still wrought in the old style, "arranging his nament according to taste like a lady arranging a bouquet." e true rococo stuccadores worked with still greater indepen-nce, and were allowed to modulate and vary their curves as zart would permit a virtuoso to improvise his own cadenzas. e improvisations of the O'Sheas were to shock Oxford dons few years later; but meanwhile it won Ruskin's admiration d, addressing a Dublin audience in 1868 seven years after oodward's death, his praise follows the work of both master d men: "The first realisation I had the joy to see of the nciples I had until then been endeavouring to teach but ich, alas, is now to me no more than the richly canopied nument of one of the most earnest souls that ever gave elf to the arts and one of my truest and most loving friends, njamin Woodward."[1]

It would appear that Woodward was on intimate terms th Rossetti before he met Ruskin, but we know nothing the circumstances in which architect and poet met. It s certainly not through Allingham whom Rossetti intro-ced to Woodward about the same time as he brought Ruskin d Woodward together.[2] Ruskin was hearing news of him m Acland in December 1854; he had commended the plans the Engineering School, as appears from Allingham's ter, but does not seem to have met him until this work was arly finished and Woodward had gone over to Oxford. d he known his work earlier he would hardly have with-ld from him, as too good for his Dublin workmen, the ovely designs" which, as Rossetti wrote, Miss Siddall had de for Woodward. Of all this early contact with the chief the Pre-Raphaelites there is no information from the Irish e. Woodward was famous for his gift of silence—"the

[1] *The Mystery of Life and its Arts.* Lecture delivered in the Royal College of Science, Stephen's Green. *Sesame and Lilies* §103.
[2] Cook: *Life of Ruskin*, I. p. 445.

stillest creature," Rossetti said, " that ever breathed out of oyster shell " and we remain under its penumbra.

In 1854 architects were invited to send in plans for the n Museum at Oxford, an edifice projected by Dr. Acland " the better display of materials illustrative of the facts a laws of the natural world." Woodward sent in a desig " Veronese Gothic of the best and manliest type "—and t shy recluse found himself suddenly by Ruskin's side in a vor of controversy that rocked the University and swept eventually to Whitehall and the Strand. It was the open campaign of the Battle of Styles that raged for the next years, in which all sorts of irrelevant issues—pseudo-mo theological and political—were joined in a disputation taste in a fashion we might condescendingly call Victori if similar quarrels were more clearly disposed of to-d Acland had started an agitation within the University this Natural History Museum in 1847. The proposal vehemently denounced. The classicists regarded it as intrusion ; the churchmen, as if foreseeing the British Asso tion meeting in the Museum in 1860 when Huxley and Wilb force had their famous encounter, saw in it (as Tuckwell sa something subtly heretical and preached against it in U versity sermons ; the economists objected to its cost. W the proposal was carried, the controversy was resumed on question of style. A pamphlet war ensued in which scient stood for medieval Gothic and classicists for eighteenth cent Palladianism. Feeling rose high enough to exclude Rusk books from a College library. The line of battle ultimat passed from Oxford to Whitehall, where as a true-born Engl man Palmerston denounced Gothic : " it was dark, it inconvenient, it was jesuitical." *The Daily Telegraph* imp tially chaffed " the mitre and crozier architects," Ruskin " architectural Imperator," the Puseyites carving Madonnas a the Calvinists " cursing worse than ever."

Into this hurly-burly of controversy came Acland's " fined and almost fastidious artist . . . . one of the gent and most appreciative minds, which, while it elevated tastes and exalted his feelings. made him almost a recluse

ety and greatly restricted the number of his intimate ndships." Rossetti's brother said: "He was the very erse of what Irishmen are currently assumed to be and was most modest, retiring and shyly taciturn man of noticeable nt whom it has ever been my fortune to meet. He was of dsome and stately presence, eminently gentle and rteous." Tuckwell describes the whole group at work: hen into our midst came Woodward, architect of the seum, a man of rare genius and deep artistic knowledge, utiful in face and character but with the shadow of an y death already stealing over him. He was a grave and ously silent man. Of his partners, men greatly his in- ors, the elder, Sir Thomas Deane, was a ceaseless chatter- ; the younger, son to Sir Thomas, stammered. Speaking Congregation, Jeune hit off the trio after his manner: ne won't talk, one can't talk, one never stops talking.' odward brought with him his Dublin pupils, drew round eager Oxonians, amongst them Morris and Burne-Jones long come up to Exeter. The lovely Museum rose before ike an exhalation; its every detail . . . an object of art nped with Woodward's picturesque inventiveness and re- ment . . . . Every morning came the handsome red- rded Irish brothers O'Shea bearing plants from the Botanic den to re-appear under their chisels in the rough-hewn itals of the pillars . . . . Ruskin himself hovered about bless the Museum work and to suggest improvements, ch silent Woodward sometimes smilingly put by."[1]

The exhalation that thus so strangely rose beside the Isis passed Convocation by a vote of sixty-eight to sixty- , but every step of its ascent was painfully and insecurely . Generous to the classics, the University had supplied kerell's new Taylorian with an ample building endowment, voted a sum to the Museum barely sufficient for the shell. hing daunted, Ruskin enlisted Pre-Raphaelite support, t his own money on the decoration, set himself to raise r subscriptions and busied himself in schemes of serpentine

[1] *Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Letters and Memo*, p. 195; Tuckwell: *Reminiscences of d*, p. 48.

inlay and columns and capitals that would illustrate the geolo and botany of these islands. His letters ring with enthusiasm echoed by Acland, Rossetti and Woolner; bu as time passed and money failed, disillusion crept into t Pre-Raphaelite ranks. It is present in the Acland-Rusk manifesto of 1859—*The Oxford Museum*—and more biting in a drawing of the period by Rossetti: Alma Mater, in t Pre-Raphaelite style, is pressing a Judas-kiss on the brow a knight and is unobtrusively disarming him. The wo and delicate features of the faithful knight are the thin a worn features, with salient cheek-bone, shown in a photogra of Woodward in Tuckwell's book. The Museum—which, Ackland's words, was "to stand as a record of the lovi labour bestowed by a pure and refined artistic intelligence" remains a record of University parsimony. Bereft of its d ornament, it looks meagre and starved. The decoration the windows that had been carefully planned was not carri through, and of the four hundred famous capitals and bas some three hundred remained uncarved in Woodward's a Ruskin's lifetime.

This century of capitals is at least a record of the O'She who carved them. From the beginning they attracted attenti to the building, and they still draw the Oxford visitor to ent the hall "for a glimpse of faded Ruskinian glory."[1] T O'Sheas worked with the same liberty and in the same natura istic spirit as is shown in their Dublin carving. "Yo Museum," Ruskin wrote to Acland," is literally the first buil ing raised in England since the close of the 15th century whi had fearlessly put to new trial this old faith in nature and in t genius of the unassisted workman who gathered out of natu the materials he needed. I am entirely glad, therefore, th you have decided on engraving for publication one of O'Shea capitals; it will be a complete type of the whole work in i inner meaning."[2]

These carvings of vegetable and animal life show gre

[1] Christopher Hobhouse: *Oxford*. The museum is illustrated in this book and Eastlake's *History of Gothic Revival*. There is a photograph of the O'Sheas at work Sir Kenneth Clark's *The Gothic Revival*, p. 274.

[2] This engraving of a fern capital is the frontispiece to *The Oxford Museum*.

finement, fidelity and a vivid originality; but the Oxford vers of triglyphs had no use for such naturalism even in a uilding devoted to natural history. Their story and its issue re well known. The Master of the University disapproved the troduction of monkeys and cats and ordered O'Shea to esist. Acland gives O'Shea's account.[1] "What are you ," says he. "Monkeys," says I. "Come down directly," ys he, "you shall not destroy the property of the Uni-ersity." "I work as Mr. Woodward orders me," and O'Shea as dismissed—but not before he had, in revenge, blocked out Parrots and Owls, Parrots and Owls, Members of Convoca-on," now defaced.

There is another story now current that the dismissal of the 'Sheas was due to their convivial habits. I can find in their agmentary record no scrap of contemporary evidence to nfirm this, but much that goes in disproof. Their life in xford was none other than the vigorous, communal life of a nall independent colony, as Sir Kenneth Clark puts it, and d not differ reprehensively from the life of the hearties, ossetti, Val Prinsep, Hughes, Stanhope, Pollen and Munro, out this building and the building of the Union Debating all, now the Union Library, which Woodward had also in and. On the contrary, there are accounts of the punctual pidity of their work and of Ruskin's delight in finding at their liberty of action and power to improvise increased eir efficiency so as to reduce costs. "The temper of the chitect has reached the men. In their work they have had easure. The capitals are partly designed by the men them-lves and especially by the family of O'Shea, who bring wit d alacrity from the Emerald Isle to their cheerful task. he carving of the capitals and the decoration of the windows limited, very limited, as our means have been—have raised er-living interest" (Acland: *Oxford Museum*). Acland d built a temporary annexe, with mess-room and reading-om, for the colony of Irish workmen, "where they began e day with simple prayer" and where Ruskin addressed

[1] The full story is in *The Oxford Museum*. See also Ruskin's *Aratra Pentelici* §134. k's *Life of Ruskin*, Vol. I, p. 451, and Sir Kenneth Clark: *op. cit.*

them in April 1856, enlarging on the principles which inspire the Museum architect. In January 1858 we find one of th brothers present—this time as a prize-winner in a competitio for architectural sculpture—at another lecture delivered i Kensington Museum by Ruskin (*Two Paths*), and in 1859 w find another entry of his name in another and significar capacity. In the appendix to the first edition of *The Oxfo Museum*, published in that year, there are lists of donor One such list makes provision for carved capitals. It begir with Acland, includes Mrs. W. E. Gladstone, and ends wit " O'Shea James, workman in the building, £5." It is fro this entry that we learn the Christian name of the more di tinguished of the two brothers.

To find the other work of the O'Sheas is to follow Wooc ward, whose practice at this time was to spend six month in England and six in Ireland. Their work was, therefor to be seen on the Crown Life Assurance Office (Blackfriar Street, London) during its brief existence and later on ou Kildare Street Club, with which their names are associate by a firm tradition. The latest mention I can find, throug scattered references, is in Thomas Woolner's correspondenc soon after Woodward's death. In December 1861 Woolne writes to F. T. Palgrave on his new studio in Welbeck Stree " O'Shea is doing his work like a man, and the corbels are burs ing forth into violets, roses, thistles, ivies, geraniums an other things lovelier than in names . . . . So fast is h progress that, unless your brother come early, O'Shea wi have done and fled, for such rapidity of workmanship I neve saw. He does three corbels a day. I thought he woul take a day each."

Meanwhile, before the Museum was ready for the Britis Association of 1860, Woodward had built the adjacent Curator House and, in 1857, the Oxford Union Debating Hall Library. Its walls were gratuitously glorified by Rossett Burne-Jones, Morris, Arthur Hughes, Stanhope, Prinsep an Hungerford Pollen, so that in December 1857 they shone i Coventry Patmore's eyes as brilliantly as the margin of a illuminated manuscript. But the colours, applied in temper

irectly on a newly whitewashed brick wall, faded almost as oon as put on, so that until the other day they remained a nere blur. In the same year Woodward entered the second remiated but unaccepted Gothic design for the Foreign Office n Whitehall and was at work on the Crown Life Assurance Office, a building which, having won honourable mention in Hansard, was demolished within ten years to make way for he London Chatham and Dover railway. It was another xample of Venetian Gothic, in which his love of varied colour nd texture was freely displayed. " It seems to me," Rossetti vrote to Allingham, " the most perfect piece of civil architecure of the new school that I have seen in London. I never ease to look at it with delight."

In Ireland, in 1859, we find Woodward engaged with his artners on the picture-gallery in Kilkenny Castle, a chromatic cheme of red walls with a hammer-beam roof and great golden ragon heads terminating the hammer-beams, and in the same ear he is inserting a new cylindrical vault between the old eiling and the roof-beams of Trinity College Library and is eginning the new Kildare Street Club house. It had reached s first floor in November 1859, and the *Irish Builder* watches vith interest its variety of colour and material—red brick, Portland and native limestones, and above all the work of he stone-cutters. " The carving of the building has been xecuted on the principle adopted at T.C.D. and Oxford, which s, permitting the workmen to think for themselves and to esign their own work. No drawings have been made in etail for any of the carved work in the building, a careful upervision and rough sketches to ensure a certain character f foliage being all that was deemed necessary." Working ide by side, as I think, with the O'Sheas, Charles W. Harrison id his first Dublin work on this building and his grandson, vho saw the sketches, tells me that he was responsible for the musing monkeys playing billiards around the bases of the vindow columns.

Its architect never saw this completed work. Already n 1858, when Woolner was with him in Oxford discussing culpture for the unexecuted Museum porch, he wrote : " His

life looks as weak as a little candle in the open air. He i the most splendid genius we have in architecture, and hi loss would not be made up in a hurry." In 1861 he wa compelled to stop work and went to Hyères. Returning h died at Lyons on May 15th of that year. The President o the British architects referred to his death, to his "singula skill, deep study and great industry," to differences of opinion too, about his Oxford work. The usual memorial committe was formed, including the Dean of Christ Church, Acland Holman Hunt, Richmond and Street. They determined on biography and a photographic record of his work. Nothin of this was done.

Woodward's Oxford work did not long sustain his reputa tion. It is more securely attached to the Engineering Schoo in Trinity, whose influence, flowing up Dawson Street to St Anne's, dies away in Dame Street in the Law Union and Roc Insurance Co. and the Munster and Leinster Bank. Correc rather than powerful, his richly coloured imagination sough satisfaction as much in decoration as in proportion. H preferred, as Rossetti observed, "partial beauty to unifor bareness"; and when as in Oxford he was deprived o necessary resources, his work is starved as well as exotic When Ruskin spoke of his work as "original and independent founded on principles learned not from books but from stud of monuments," one wonders whether the phrase points t some period of youthful study in Italy not otherwise re corded; but one finds the eulogy in point of independenc not wholly deserved. Nor could it be otherwise in the cas of a builder who, like his prodigious contemporary the myriac handed Viollet le Duc, so wholly subordinated himself to th revival of an historic style. His scholarship puts him in class apart, but he was unfortunate enough to have his wor in Oxford neighboured by the inferior work of his partner undertaken after his death and confused with theirs in con mon distate. A little while ago young Oxford qualified hi as the arch-fiend of Oxford architecture. A juster opinio may be content to recognise even in the wreckage of his dream a talent singular in his own day and country. C. P. Curra

PALÆOGRAPHY AND SPIRITUAL TRADITION

BY LUDWIG BIELER, PH.D. (VIENNA)

NO student of classical or modern philology can shut his eyes to the value of tradition in every field of spiritual fe. He will appreciate the importance of this fact : that in ıediæval Europe an unbroken tradition of Western thought nd learning, which covered whatever was believed to be orth handing down through the centuries, was continuously ı existence. Since the classical period of German literature nd the " new humanism " of the early nineteenth century, ne of the great dangers for German learning has been its nderestimate of tradition. German scholars, and especially assical philologists, got more and more accustomed to the abit of cutting away all living contacts with their subject. heir aim for a long period was to understand a work of litera- ure exclusively by study of its own time or *milieu* ; that of ur contemporaries is as a rule to understand a work by a udy of its intrinsic structure only. Each point of view is, course, quite legitimate in its own place. Both, however, e dangerous when regarded as general or even exclusive rinciples for dealing with literature. The former, which ominated in the last century, makes the free activity of the uman spirit entirely dependent on external conditions such s surroundings, education and other more or less accidental fluences. The latter, which is the pride of our present eneration, is right in so far as every work of literature is an dividual and, first of all, ought to be considered as such. ı Germany, this method of studying literature was for a me a necessary reaction against the increasing danger of historism." For generations the approach to literary roduction was, for the average educated German, blocked y historical considerations. But if it is certain that we are ght in reading an ancient poem for our own pleasure, simply ecause it is beautiful, it is also certain that the student must ot forget that it was written by a certain person in a certain

place and time, under certain general and special cir cumstances; and that the time which lies between the poet and the reader of to-day is not without its own meaning. In that space of time, from its origin to the present day, each work has undergone the most various vicissitudes. It has been esteemed and carefully handed down from one generation to the other, or it has fallen into oblivion—to be recovered centuries later. The reasons for the one or the other fate, the influence which it exercised or the lack of any influence, tell us as much of the work itself as of the periods through which it has passed. Lucretius, for example, still has the same power to stimulate which he had for the French rationalists. The Bible not only breathes its intrinsic holiness, but it is laden, as everybody can feel, with the reverence awe of two thousand years.

This will be sufficient to show the importance of tradition in any philological discipline, at least for those European scholars who deliberately range themselves on the highway of Christian civilisation. If scholars like Theodor Mommsen and Ludwig Traube, even in the Germany of 1900, followed the line between historism on the one hand and the beginning of literary mysticism on the other, can a scholar do otherwise who feels thoroughly convinced that Christianity is the heart of our civilisation? Ludwig Traube insisted over and over again on the fact that we are connected with the ancients through mediæval tradition. It was his great merit, and that of his disciples, that the importance of tradition became more and more recognized.

By tradition I mean, of course, more than merely copying ancient manuscripts, teaching their language or studying their contents, however important this may be. European tradition preserves the treasures of antiquity because of the eminent value they have for mankind, giving them their appropriate place in Christian doctrine and building upon them the marvellous monument of mediæval philosophy and poetry—that admirable unity of spiritual formation which spread over a whole continent, for the loss of which the great modern improvements in science and letters since the age

eenth-century humanism are no satisfactory compensation. l good Europeans (if I may use one of Nietzsche's favourite pressions in a somewhat different meaning) have ever since en looking for this lost spiritual unity.

Mediæval tradition manifests itself most strikingly in ediæval bookwriting. And with this statement I come to y particular subject. In this essay, I shall discuss the place hich mediæval palæography may claim in the whole complex philological and historical studies.

The conception which people generally have of palæo- aphy is that of a key for deciphering old manuscripts. If were nothing else, palæography would only be a subsidiary scipline of secondary importance; in that case, a merely actical training would suffice. But the historian knows at reading a manuscript or a record is not all that we need. e must be able to distinguish originals from copies and rgeries, and this is something more than a matter of exper- nce. Since the greater majority of manuscripts are not ted by their scribes, and cannot be dated from external servation, their age has to be determined from the type of iting which they show—an art for which patient and minute servation, and also the trained eye of the historian, is eded. In this respect, palæography is an almost indis- nsable help for the historian and philologist who wants to back to the sources with which his studies are concerned; t it still remains an auxiliary discipline. However, we can a step farther.

The Lindisfarne Gospels, which were written about A.D. 0, show an Irish half-uncial in the style of the famous Book Kells. At the same time, as De Rossi has proved, a ribe, working in the monastery of Jarrow (or Wear- outh) in northern England, wrote a Latin Bible for presenta- on to the Pope by his abbot. His book, which is now known the Codex Amiatinus in the Laurentian Library at Flor- ce, is written in Roman uncial characters. This fact has ore than a palæographical interest. It is a striking illus- ation of the rivalry between Irish and Roman missionaries that early period of the English Church.

Another example: Traube discovered in two manuscript which were written at Rheims in the ninth century, the auto graph of Johannes Scotus Eriugena. This discovery mak it possible for us to distinguish several successive redaction of that author's work *περὶ φύσεως*. The fact that the lat of these two manuscripts is now in Bamberg and has bee there since the early Middle Ages, shows us that there we cultural relations between Rheims and Bamberg at that time it is also a contribution to the history of the Bamberg Librar Finally, the hand of Johannes Scotus occurs in a manuscri now at Laon (No. 81), which contains an anonymous com mentary on St. John's Gospel. Traube's discovery th proves for this work the authorship of Scotus Eriugena, whi had been previously presumed without proof.

From numerous other examples which I could quote shall choose one which is of a particular interest for the phil logist. In general, editors of texts which have been preserv in ancient manuscripts have no interest in manuscripts whi have been copied from them; and they are usually right but not always. For the text of Livy the best witness Codex Puteanus, a manuscript of the fifth or sixth centur A relatively old copy of this text is now Codex Reginensis 76 which was written in Tours between A.D. 804 and 834. T editor of Livy need not examine the latter, except for a fe passages where the original has been injured. Neverthele a careful comparison of these two books would give us valua help for the very ordinary case in which the oldest man scripts of a Latin author have come to us from the nin century; moreover, it would tell us many interesting thin about the way in which classical texts were copied and studi in a typical centre of Carolingian teaching.

Palæography, when treated in this way, is no longer auxiliary discipline but is a special field of learning for itse However, I could not give a definition of palæography *genus proximum et differentiam specificam*. It is not a scien like mathematics, where an immense variety is only the d velopment of one principle. It is an historical disciplin and, like other historical disciplines, has not a single a

early limited subject. Its tasks and aims have increased th its own evolution in theory and practice. Whatever ity it has is derived from its object: the handwritten book. shall try to illustrate this problem by a short survey of the story of palæography.

The origins of palæography date from the culmination of rench scepticism in the reign of Louis XIV. The actual casion was a literary dispute between the French Maurists d the Belgian Bollandists. One of the latter, Father Daniel apebroch, S.J., wrote a preface to the second volume of e *Acta Sanctorum mensis Aprilis* (1675) and maintained a neral scepticism concerning all old Merovingian documents. particular he attacked a great number of records concerning e Maurist Benedictine monastery of St. Denis, though he had intention of questioning the title-deeds of the great monstery's possessions. A learned monk of the Maurist congregation, Dom Jean Mabillon, was ordered by his superiors to nswer Papebroch. Mabillon's great merit is this: that ehind the actual quarrel—which was in fact rather a question honour than of possession—he saw a general problem of storical evidence. If the ancient records—deeds and handritten books—were not to be relied on, then we had to renounce for ever any knowledge of the history of the early iddle Ages. So Mabillon looked out for criteria of authencity for these historical documents. By a comparative udy of ancient manuscripts in Paris and in other parts of rance, and with the help of learned friends in Italy, he was ble to produce his standard work *De re diplomatica libri VI*, hich appeared in 1681. Papebroch himself was fully conced by Mabillon's arguments; the Benedictine scholar had fact laid down the main principles for any scientific treatent of mediæval Latin script.

From the title of Mabillon's work we learn that palæoaphy was not its main subject—even the name did not yet ist. What we now call palæography is treated only in a w chapters, being one among other factors which are reuired for a critical judgment on ancient records. But in ese few chapters, and in his remarks on the script of the

accompanying plates, Mabillon laid the foundation of a ne discipline for which he did not even care to find a name. H saw the palæographical problem in its full extent as an auxiliar historical discipline. Its purpose is to give the historia sufficient help for reading, dating and localizing the documen on which our knowledge of the Middle Ages depends and als for examining their authenticity. He knew that the mo indispensable requisite for a sound judgment in this field great experience, and he did his best to see as many writte books as he could. He examined carefully manuscrip whose age and origin were known, and he tried to fix th dates of others by comparison with the former. If he did no always succeed in localizing the scripts—and his conceptio of national hands in the early Middle Ages was certainl wrong—he did all the more in dating and deciphering ther We even find that he had some insight into the history writing; for example, he had a vague idea that some refo mation of the Latin script took place under Charlemagne.

Another Maurist scholar, Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, wh published his *Palæographia Graeca* in 1708, gave our di cipline its name and separated it from diplomatics. He ha the eye of an artist and so began to trace the gradual change style of each letter through the centuries. This was th beginning of what French scholars call *histoire abécédaire* an Germans *Formgeschichte der Buchstabem*. Following h observations, he was able to date accurately undated man scripts in his catalogue of the library of Bishop Coislin Metz (1715). This catalogue became the model of numero other catalogues of manuscripts which appeared in th eighteenth century. The new points of view which he intr duced into Greek palæography could not fail to influen the study of Latin palæography.

A real revolution in palæography was due to Scipio Maffei, the great reformer of the Italian theatre. It was mere accident that made him known among palæographe When preparing a guide to his native town Verona, the exta ones being very bad, he recovered the old library of the Ve onese cathedral which contained a great number of boo

m the sixth to the ninth century, all written in Italy, most them in Verona. Having before his eyes an uninterrupted ies of documents for the evolution of writing in one and the ne place, he soon understood that the Roman script was e only one that had existed in the Latin world, but that it d changed with the centuries and varied in different untries. So he was able, in his *Verona illustrata* (1732), correct Mabillon's mistake about national scripts. The cisive step towards a historical understanding of mediæval ipt had been taken.

Maffei found critics as well as admirers, but it was impossible t to take notice of his arguments, and in the end he was und to be right. A very characteristic witness for this ange of opinion is the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* (1750-65), published anonymously by two Maurists, Dom Tassin d Dom Toustain. The authors first opposed Maffei, but the progress of their work converted themselves to his opinion d defended it fervently.

There was no real progress in palæography for a long ne after this. In no other country did a palæographical adition exist as in France. In Germany, which had been rown back for a century by the Thirty Years War, learn-g recovered rather slowly; the old libraries belonged almost tirely to the church or the nobility and were not easily cessible. Almost at the same time as the Veronese library, e old library of the cathedral of Würzburg was recovered. methodical study of these manuscripts would have shown e influence of Irish writing on the ancient German script; it there was nobody to put the question. In Italy the genious Maffei had no follower among his own country-en. In England interest in the ancient national literature as favourable to palæography; but, apart from this particular terest in the old national script, palæography did not rise ove an average level. In fact, the *Nouveau Traité* was where matched or beaten, and every palæographical hand-ok depended on it for more than a century. Even Angelo ai's discovery of a great number of palimpsests in Milan, rin, Rome and elsewhere enriched our knowledge of ancient

texts rather than our knowledge of ancient writing. T papyri, which were discovered throughout the nineteer century, presented documents which were about six hundr years older than the oldest books hitherto known; but La papyri were rather rare and relatively late. The first scho who examined their script closely was Carl Wessely of Vien in the second half of the last century.

On the continent, the end of the eighteenth and the beg ning of the nineteenth century were times of great politi revolutions. In France, Austria and Germany a great numl of monasteries were secularized and the public libraries w thus enriched with their treasures. This is the time wh secular public institutions for the promotion of learni came into existence. In general, these institutions co tributed rather to enlarging than to intensifying studies; b as life becomes more and more specialized, organizations learning were the only way to assure a certain unity a universality of thinking. Such institutions as academies a public libraries became the new centres of palæographi research. In France, the continued tradition of learn is most evident. The last Maurist, Dom Brial, entered t Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1805. England and Ireland, however, the activity of private schol was more remarkable. Men like Henry Bradshaw, one of t founders of the Palæographical Society, and Charles O'Con the learned librarian of the Duke of Buckingham, did valua work. Italy was the only country in which the most impo ant institution of learning was ecclesiastical: the Scu Pontificia Vaticana, founded by Pope Leo XIII.

We have followed the history of palæography almost our own days. Before speaking of the latest step forw and its special problems, a short retrospective view may useful. In the beginning, palæography was only a help the historian to read and date records. It was a part diplomatics and had not even a special name. From th poor beginnings it gradually developed to a history of scr as a part of general history and in connexion with it. that sense it was studied in the famous institutions of the l

tury, such as the Ecole des Chartes in Paris, the Institut oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung in Vienna and the numenta Germaniae Historica in Berlin. As early as 6 the director of the Scuola Vaticana, Isidoro Carini, spoke the importance of palæography for the understanding of nan culture in general; but many promising efforts in s direction (such as Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Bibliothec-m*, the first step to a history of libraries, and Westwood's *læographia sacra pictoria*, the first example of the palæo-phical history of a text) were not carried on. Even great olars of the nineteenth century like Leopold Delisle, how-r far-sighted they might be, contented themselves with study of particular subjects. If they made discoveries a general importance, it was by the way and did not lead m on to reflections on the principles of their discipline, ich was always held to be "ancilla historiæ," and, there-e, more or less attached to diplomatics.

It was a German scholar, Ludwig Traube, who, at the end the last century, made palæography an independent dis-line. Now-a-days he must not be mentioned in his own ntry because of his non-Aryan origin. But his disciples, o are for the most part scholars of high reputation all over world, went further on the way he had shown them, and n a new esteem for their science.

What is new in this new palæography? In itself, of rse, it is not an absolutely new thing, nor did Traube nself ever pretend that it was. All that he did had at least n tried before him; even for his belief in palæography as an ependent discipline he had a precursor in C. T. G. Schoe-nann, a German scholar of the eighteenth century. Never-less, what Traube did was really new. Firstly, he united different and even divergent efforts which had been made give more self-importance to palæography; such as the dy of historical evolution in writing, the mutual influence contrasting scripts, textual history, reconstruction of raries, etc. Secondly, he regarded the history of writing only as a part of the history of a certain period, as one racteristic feature among others, but as the history of a

particular and most interesting phenomenon of civilizatio
Thirdly, he did not study script as such; he always regard
the whole book as an individual. And he did all this n
unconsciously, but with a clear insight into the far-reachi
consequences of his points of view. For Traube the mediæv
script is the most evident manifestation of that unbrok
spiritual tradition of antiquity for which modern times a
indebted to the Middle Ages. Not only does it reflect t
chief movements in civilization, but, like the needle of
delicate instrument, it indicates the most subtle connexions

But script does not exist for itself; it is always writt
on something. The script with which the palæographer h
to deal is that of books. The subject of mediæval palæ
graphy is therefore mediæval book-writing. The individu
book—and every handwritten book *is* an individual—has
be taken as a whole; it has to be regarded as a slumberi
witness who must be awakened and made to speak. A bo
always tells us something about the history of the text whi
it contains; but, at the same time, it has its own history a
tells us of the times it has passed through. It is no accide
that Ludwig Traube was also one of the founders of anoth
new discipline, the history of mediæval Latin literature. W
can neither understand nor appreciate that literature witho
recognizing the deep sense of tradition with which the Mid
Ages were imbued in both learning and art. In our own da
when editions amount to ten thousands, we can hardly imagi
the value of one single copy of a text and the influence it m
have exercised on literature. But so it was. Suetoni
Lives of the Caesars, for example, was preserved in one man
script only, and this book was in Fulda. Einhard studied
there, and he took these *Lives* as the model for his own *L*
of Charlemagne. He had read in Suetonius about even t
most particular features of personal behaviour and daily l
of the Roman Emperors. He thus became a scrupulo
observer of such things in his own hero; and so it came abo
that we know so much of the private life of the first Rom
Emperor in the Middle Ages.

After this brief historical review, we may try again

fine what palæography is. In the widest sense of the word deals with documents written on material which is essentially ade for writing. A pillow which bears the embroidery Sleep well " or even a monument such as a memorial stone, e not subjects of study to the palæographer. But palæo- aphy means a special way of interpreting documents.

The palæographical interpretation of a document may con- rn only its script as a contribution to the history of writing general. From that point of view, palæography would ve to deal with all written documents in every script and every time. It would go hand in hand with the history art and even with the history of language—language, script d art being manifestations of one and the same civilization d as such being subject in their style to all the changes which at civilization undergoes. This may be called an artistic terpretation.[1] Another way of interpreting a document ould be to examine whether its script agrees with its material d its contents; in other words, whether the document is thentic or not. In that case, the whole document is taken to account; but palæography is here nothing more than an xiliary discipline. As long as we ask only: " Is this what pretends to be ? " the document is not taken as an individual. his is the case only if we regard its " form " (I mean the word the wide sense it has in German theory of literature) and " contents " (that term, too, is understood in its widest nse and means all that a document tells us)—I say, if we gard the form and the contents of a document as an essen- lly insoluble unity.

You will understand that only the handwritten book rresponds to that condition. A merely historical document, ., a deed, is important only as a record of an historical ct or, perhaps, as a linguistic document, whereas a literary ork, however interesting it may be for the historian, is, sides that, always important in itself. Book-hand and urt-hand are not only different in form, but writing itself s a different purpose and meaning here and there. There

[1] See, for example, an essay by Otto Hurm: *Schriftform und Schreibwerkzeug* (Vienna, 8) dealing with the influence of the writing materials on the style of the pre-Gothic pt.

are, of course, relations between them—*e.g.*, between book hand and court-hand or inscriptions of the same time—a well as relations between literary works and contemporar documents. There are even transitions from one to the other deeds may be copied in a book, or a poem may be engraved i a tombstone. That is why the palæographer has to lear from diplomatics and epigraphics, and therefore the latte sciences are in some way auxiliary disciplines for the palæ grapher. This essential unity between form and conten is found only in *mediæval* books. No palæographer has ev treated the script from the sixteenth century onwards, a though a general history of writing should follow its subje through the later centuries also. The reason is simple : the sixteenth century the printed book has definitely replace the manuscript. This is only an exterior reason for th historian who regards palæography as an auxiliary discipline but there is also a more intrinsic reason, if we take the boo for what I have suggested. Literary life becomes as close amalgamated with book-*printing* as it was formerly with boo *writing*. But the printed book is no longer an individua A manuscript in the modern world does not mean what meant in the Middle Ages. The autograph which here ar there occurs even in the early Middle Ages—I have spoke already of the autograph of Johannes Scotus Eriugena becomes more and more important as a testimony of th author's character. For the study of rough drafts and co rections, it keeps its place beside the printed book. For th student of literature handwriting has no longer an historica but only a biographical interest.

Mediæval palæography demands of its students humility that humility of learning which does not long for splend and easily-won victories ; which does not even aim at dealin immediately with the great things in history. It co templates the poor and dull-looking sediments of civilizatio but just those poor reflexes of greater things reward th patient observer by telling him of the most intimate relatio in the spiritual world, of which no other tradition sometim exists.

LUDWIG BIELER

RICHARD KIRWAN

BY REV. P. J. MCLAUGHLIN, D.SC.
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rt IV :—Dawn of the Nineteenth Century in Dublin *

VITH the dawn of the nineteenth century the character of Dublin changed. Dublin, long the capital of the e, gradually became the capital of Ireland. After 1782 Anglo-Irish ruling caste had used the legislative indepen- nce of the Dublin Parliament mainly to bolster up their own endancy. The Union took this power away from them l the richest of them, along with careerists, promptly serted Dublin for London, taking much glitter and huge omes with them, and leaving behind them with scarcely a ret the Georgian mansions that were to become grimy entieth-century slums. Of the ascendancy who remained, ne with pathetic bigotry shut their eyes to the growing ts of the new century. They steadfastly set their faces inst the inevitable Catholic emancipation. They bitterly posed every movement designed to elevate the people om they had helped to degrade. They lived a hard com- cent dream life, glorying in the spectacular past. They nd the new Dublin a poor place—sad, quiet and dreary. squoting Lady Morgan, they called it drear dirty Dublin. There were others, however, who boldly threw in their lot h the rising national life. They did much to change blin into an Irish capital. They contributed to the growth Irish nationalism by arousing scholarly and upper-class erest in the Irish language, in Irish music and Irish anti- ties. They brought many and splendid qualities to the k. They were positive and constructive, and they never d to dig a grave for anyone. Most of the institutions ch flourish in Dublin at the present time date back to m. Many of the problems which they ardently investi- ed are still topical and important, such as industrial

* For Parts I—III see September and December (1939) and March (1940) issues.

development, agricultural science, and the revival of Iri fisheries.[1] The reputation of Dublin as a city of culture is large measure due to these men. During their time Dubl was in closer and more frequent contact with cultural a scientific circles abroad than ever before or since. The co tacts were made and kept in spite of the slow and diffic means of communication then existing. These men uphe the standards of their time and even added to its cultu We get many glimpses of their work in following Kirwa life to its conclusion.

In the twelve years that immediately followed the Uni Kirwan continued to figure prominently in the cultural a scientific life of Dublin. He took no part in public politi He had refused the offer of a baronetcy from Lord Cast reagh when the latter had asked him to exert his great i fluence in favour of the Union. His political opinions we similar to those of his friend Lord Cloncurry, with whom passed a good deal of time at Lyons, ultimately buying residence in that neighbourhood. There he met anoth Irish chemist, Chenevix, along with Grattan, Curran, Latt and the Rev. Robert Jephson "most brilliant of even th brilliant circle."

Politics apart, Kirwan was active in nearly every oth sphere. In applied science he concentrated on questions special interest for his native country. His interest in su problems had begun before the Union. During his tour the provinces in 1787, he had noted that the attention 'improving' landlords and farmers had awakened to search after minerals; but although ores of copper, lead a iron of good quality had been found, they could not be work to the national advantage for want of fuel. Kirwan publish an account of the geological structures in which pitcoal invariably found elsewhere, and he gave useful hints to woul be prospectors. This question of prime power occupied h mind for many years. He introduced a method of measuri

[1] See William Preston's Prize Essay, "The Natural Advantages of Ireland, the Ma factures to which they are adapted, and the best means of improving those Manufactur *Trans. Ir. Acad.* ix, 161-428. For the remarkable prosperity of Irish fisheries before 1 and the Irish Newfoundland fishery, see Sigerson's *Last Independent Parliament of Irela*

e heating value of various coals, and amongst the specimens tested were Kilkenny coal and Leitrim coal. He showed at Kilkenny coal had a higher carbon content than White-ven, Wigan, Swansea and other cross-channel varieties. t that time there was a considerable trade in Kilkenny al, with Castlecomer the centre of a large population of lliers). A survey of Irish coalfields was begun by Kirwan's ung friend, Richard Griffith, in 1808. The survey was so orough that scarcely any improvement has been made on since.[1]

In order to make the Irish linen industry independent of reign aids, Kirwan carried out " experiments on the alkaline bstances used in bleaching " (1789). In his paper he gives admirable analysis of barilla, the impure alkali got by rning kelp, and he describes a new method of estimating e amount of alkali in alkaline substances. He made clear e resinous nature of the colouring matter of linen yarn and established the fact, which he considered of national import-ce, that the linen industry of Ireland stood in no need of reign salts for the purpose of bleaching. Next, with a view applying the most recent findings of science to agriculture, published a treatise on *Soils and Manures* (1794). His eatise was a prize essay on the ambitious subject proposed by e Irish Academy : " What are the manures most advan-geously applicable to the various sorts of soils, and what e the causes of the beneficial effects in each particular in-nce." Kirwan distinguishes between the different kinds soils and enumerates the manures best suited to each. e furnishes analyses of manures and gives the constitution fertile soils together with methods of estimating their tility. *Soils and Manures* was reprinted two years later the Royal Dublin Society and copies of it were broadcast farmers. The paper is of importance in the history of ricultural chemistry. It stimulated the interest of Kirwan's rrespondent and friend, de Saussure, who eight years later ginated the doctrine of plant nutrition. The paper appeared

[1] An account of Griffith's work, with some of Kirwan's analyses of Irish coals, will be nd in Kane's *Industrial Resources of Ireland.* See also *Proc. R.D.S.* and *Trans. of the Acad.*

many years before Sir Humphrey Davy began to lecture the Dublin Society and nearly half a century before Liebig monumental work *Die Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agr kultur* (1840). As late as 1825 we find Kirwan's paper r printed, along with a glossary of its chemical terms, as a appendix to Mauriac's *Traité des Engrais* (Geneva). It w translated into German by Lenten. The classification soils given by Kirwan forms the basis of that adopted lat by Griffith in the Valuation of Ireland.

Kirwan attempted to popularise science somewhat in th grand manner achieved in modern times by the Deutsch Museum at Munich. A successful instance of this trait seen in his acquisition of the Leskean cabinet for the bene of Irish students. This celebrated museum of mineralog originated with Lesk, Werner's most distinguished pupil. was enlarged and revised by Karsten, Germany's next greate mineralogist, whose *Description* of the minerals in the Leske cabinet (7331 specimens) runs into nearly seven hundr pages.[1] The collection illustrated profusely the departmen of geographical and economical mineralogy, the extern character of minerals, their classification and the geologic structure of the earth. The cabinet was considered the mo perfect monument of mineralogical ability in its time. Ki wan used his influence in high places to get the Irish Parli ment (in 1792) to contribute twelve hundred pounds towar the purchase of the collection. He himself negotiated th purchase and he proved himself a good bargainer, as besid the minerals he obtained without additional expense a fi collection of shells, several anatomical preparations, an her arium and other subjects of natural history. To mark the appreciation the Dublin Society presented him with a med made of Irish gold, and they had Hamilton paint his portrai (The portrait, showing Kirwan at the age of sixty-nine, no hangs in the board room of the Royal Dublin Society. It

[1] Dr. George Mitchell's translation of Karsten's *Description* is among the Halid pamphlets in the Royal Irish Academy. In 1815 Mitchell's German manuscripts a drawings dealing with mineralogy and kindred subjects, which had been collected with view to forming a mining board, long a project of Kirwan's, were purchased by the Roy Dublin Society. See Berry, *Hist. of the R.D.S.*, p. 157.

considered as good a likeness of Kirwan as the portrait in Royal Irish Academy).

Of the many distinguished scientists who were associated h the Leskean cabinet after it came into possession the Dublin Society, probably the most remarkable was tzler (he afterwards assumed the name of Giesecke), friend Goethe, Schiller and Klopstock. During his lifetime the nber of minerals in the collection increased to thirty thou- d. Giesecke is said to have been the original of *Wilhelm ister*. He was born in Augsburg in 1761, and at an early became enamoured of the stage. He produced *Hamlet* Vienna, playing the title role himself. He had a passion music, and he wrote a number of librettos and operas. was closely associated with Mozart, and it is recorded that wrote almost the entire libretto of the *Magic Flute*. In 94 he took up the serious study of mineralogy and, after ensive travels, became a dealer in minerals in Copenhagen. e King of Denmark sent him to Greenland (1806) to carry a mineralogical survey and to make charts. Particulars some of his discoveries in Greenland, where he suffered at hardships, were afterwards published in the *Trans- ions* of the Royal Irish Academy. Soon after his return m Greenland he was appointed professor of mineralogy in Dublin Society. Under him the Dublin school became nous "from one end of Europe to another." He under- k mineralogical tours in Donegal, Derry, Antrim, Tyrone, wn, Galway, Mayo and Achill Island, and extensive reports these surveys were printed in the *Proceedings* of the Dublin iety.[1]

Kirwan refers frequently to the Leskean cabinet in his atest publication *Elements of Mineralogy* (Dublin, 1794-7, vols.). This work was the first systematic treatise on neralogy to appear in English. It passed through several tions and was translated into French, German and Russian. reigned for a long time as the standard textbook on the ject. Kirwan gives a full description of all the minerals

[1] Full particulars of Sir Charles Giesecke's career are to be found in *Mozart's Operas* Ed. J. Dent (1913) and in an article in the *Dublin University Magazine*, 1834. Cf. y, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

known in his day, and criticises the current systems of class
fication based on mere external and mechanical character
He held that the true nature of a mineral could be discover
only by investigating its molecular constituents. Scienti
classification of minerals should be based on the results
chemical analysis. He gives details of many new and delica
methods of such analyses. He adds a description of Iri
fossils little known in other countries, and with an eye
practical applications he gives an account of "many ne
experiments on the fusibility of various combinations
simple earths, to the advantage of the arts of pottery a
vitrification." The spirit of Kirwan's treatise is that of t
modern mineralogist. Indeed it may be fairly said that h
book marks the beginning of modern mineralogy in the Briti
Isles.[1]

Both before and after the Union the numerous spas
Ireland were better known and infinitely more popular th
they are to-day. A writer in the *Anthologia Hibernica* amus
himself in the summer of 1794 by sitting at his window fr
early morning till late in the afternoon counting the number
coaches, postchaises, jaunting cars, landaus, common ca
pedestrians and people on horseback who passed on th
way to the Leixlip spa, where the sulphur waters were rivall
those of Lucan, the more famous spa in the same distri
He estimated that at least twelve thousand people must ha
visited Leixlip that day. It is characteristic of Kirwan t
his interest in spa water was essentially mineralogical.
Kirwan spa water meant mineral water, that is a water whi
by its colour, taste, smell or density shows an abnormal impr
nation with a mineral or with carbonic acid gas. Kirw
pointed out that such waters are useful indicators of t
presence of minerals at unexplored depths in the earth. Th

[1] Cauchy and Parisot in the *Biographie Universelle* say of Kirwan's treatise on mine
ogy : "C'est l'ouvrage capital de Kirwan. Il eut soin d'y faire entrer toutes les découve
modernes : il y a velléité de méthode par tout l'ouvrage. Le point de vue auquel se p
Kirwan, la nécessité de fonder la classification minéralogique, non plus, comme Wer
sur des caractères extérieurs, non plus comme Romé de Lisle sur la forme extérieure
cristaux, mais sur les éléments vrais dont se composent la molécule constituante, e
surtout les analyses délicates et nombreuses qu'il donne de divers minéraux assignent
rang très haut à l'ouvrage de Kirwan, qui est bien dépassé aujourd'hui, mais qui n'en
pas moins le point de départ d'une ère nouvelle, et où se dessine nettement l'esprit
minéralogiste moderne."

ysis is of importance both to physicians and mineralogists. h book published in Dublin in 1799 he gives methods of ying out qualitative analysis of mineral waters. Many ne tests and reactions mentioned by him are still in favour. substituted orderly methods of investigation for the old and miss methods, and he introduced new ways of estimat- the quantity of each mineral detected. His *Analysis of neral Waters* is a fitting sequel to his *Elements of Mineralogy.* The economic depression which followed the Union gravely cted the prosperity of two associations that were dear to wan, the Irish Academy in Grafton Street and the Dublin iety in Hawkins Street. There was a notable fall in nbership and in subscriptions after 1800, but after a ggle there came a rally and the two societies began to flourish n. As President of the Irish Academy and as coadjutor he 'dictator' of the Royal Dublin Society, General Vallan- Kirwan was especially energetic. The width of his rests is reflected in the peculiarly heterogeneous activities hese two societies. The unique and magnificent collection rish antiquities now housed in the National Museum of nce and Art was started by the Irish Academy in Kirwan's e. Kirwan was amongst the first to contribute to this ection which includes, besides other famous Irish gold aments, such pieces of wonderfully beautiful workmanship St. Patrick's Bell, the Tara Brooch and the Cross of Cong. e Cross of Cong was presented by the eminent and ill-fated hematician, James MacCullagh). In Kirwan's time began Irish Academy's famous collection of Irish manuscripts, ded by the "Book of Ballymote" presented by the valier Thomas O'Gorman, the "Book of Leacan" received ugh the Abbé Kearney of Paris, and the "Leabhar Breac" ght for the institution by Colonel Vallancey. It was fly through Kirwan's exertions that the Dublin Society eeded in 'stealing' William Higgins from the Apothe- es Hall.[1] Higgins was provided with a new chemical ratory, the first of its kind. His appointment by the

[1] The Apothecaries Hall was the 'grandfather' of the Catholic University School of ine.

Dublin Society is of some historical importance, as it is earliest recorded appointment in the United Kingdom professor of chemistry in the modern sense. The Du Society attempted many things, and it is to the exertion its versatile members that we owe such diverse institut as the National Library, the National Gallery, the Dep ment of Agriculture, the Botanical Gardens, the Nati Collection of Art, the College of Science, which is now pa University College, and the Veterinary College.

Amongst notable associates of Kirwan in the Irish Acad were Silvester O'Halloran and John Brinkley. O'Hallo like William Dease, was a forerunner of the great Irish sch of surgery and medicine of the middle nineteenth cent He was born in Limerick, in 1728. He studied medicin London, Paris and Leyden. Before he was twenty-on had written a treatise on the eye-disease, glaucoma, w was highly praised by the eminent Haller. His subseq writings on surgery of the eye were numerous and very lea and full of acute observations. His method of operation removal of cataract was generally admitted to be a not advance in eye-surgery. He invented a special knife for operation to supersede the objectionable scissors of Da His practice as an oculist was considerable, and he was emi in other departments of surgery. He was the first to s that trephining is unnecessary in certain cases of depressio the bone. He had unusual opportunities of studying cra fractures, as in his day faction-fighting flourished and tributed scores of cracked heads to the Limerick Infirm where he was Surgeon. O'Halloran was the first to ampu the thigh in the modern fashion. He allowed the woun remain open for drainage for some days and thus anticip modern practice. The second and fourth volumes of the I Academy's *Transactions* contain several articles from his and among the manuscripts preserved in the Library is quarto volume on the *Atmosphere*. O'Halloran was an thusiastic archaeologist. His *History of Ireland* atta the honour of a fourth edition and his *Introduction to Antiquities of Ireland* helped to popularise the study of arc

y in this country. He died at Limerick in 1807. To his eagues in the Irish Academy he was " the tall thin doctor, is quaint French dress, with his goldheaded cane, beautiful isian wig and cocked hat."[1]

Brinkley, mathematician, astronomer and botanist, was n in Surrey in 1763. While preparing his degree at Cam-ge he assisted at Greenwich Observatory. On the recom-ndation of Maskelyne he was appointed (1792) Andrews fessor of Astronomy in Dublin University with the title stronomer Royal for Ireland." His spirits sank when went to the College Observatory at Dunsink and found that sole equipment was a small transit instrument. As far k as 1788 a splendid altitude and azimuth circle had been ered from the famous instrument-maker, Ramsden, but ll twenty years elapsed before it was completed by Rams-'s successor. When at length the great telescope was vered, Brinkley set it up and abandoned himself to an orgy stronomical observations. In 1810 he communicated to Royal Society the distance of a fixed star (alpha Lyrae) ch he had measured by observing the position of the star n opposite sides of the earth's orbit. The accuracy of measurement was challenged by Pond, and the gentle-nly controversy which followed is of importance in that it nulated the celebrated Bessel to work on precisional astron-y and put the measurement of star positions on a sound is. The position of a star read directly from a telescope uires elaborate treatment before it can be entered in a map. The celestial pole to which all stellar positions are rred describes a large circle in the sky once in twenty-six usand years because the earth wobbles like a top nearing end of its spin. The circle described by the pole is not e smooth but wavy, the pole nodding up and down as it vels round the larger circle. The circular motion is called ecession ' and the nodding motion ' nutation.' Bessel ceeded in devising a scheme to allow for these and other cts such as ' instrumental and personal errors,' the import-

[1] O'Halloran's portrait is prefixed to a notice in the *Dublin Journal of Medical Science*, VI, and a list of his writings is given in Cameron's *Hist. of the Royal College of Surgeons*, .

ance of which had also been noted in the Brinkley-H controversy. Brinkley was the first, by a series of deli instrumental observations, to detect solar nutation. (1 *Trans.* of the Royal Irish Academy). He wrote many mem on astronomical subjects. His *Mean Motion of the L Perigee* won for him the Cunningham gold medal of the I Academy, and his *Elements of Astronomy* served as a t book for nearly a century. He was one of the first to encou the rising genius of Sir William Rowan Hamilton, his succe in the Andrews Chair of Astronomy. In 1826 he retired obscurity as Bishop of Cloyne. The scientific activity which the benevolent and disinterested Brinkley had ra the little observatory at Dunsink to a position of first- importance, came to an end and astronomy lost one o most painstaking observers.[1]

Kirwan's scientific activities in the last years of his continue to be notable for their variety if not for outstan achievement. We find him measuring the height of I gillycuddy Reeks in Kerry and devising a method of estima the richness of milk for the citizens of Dublin. Up to death he kept in close touch with and largely directed chemical researches of Higgins and others in the Du Society. Papers (*Proceedings*, 1800-1810) on dyeing, bleac tanning, malting, kelpmaking, inland and sea fisheries, ana of the ashes of different weeds and of potato tops, ana of the meteoric stone which fell in Tipperary in 1810, and outline of a plan for managing Irish mines, testify to diversity of his pursuits and help us to understand the French savants called him the philosopher or enc paedist of Dublin.

In the minute book of the Dublin Society we find frequently associated with General Vallancey and Dr. I gan. In a typical instance it is "resolved that Rev.

[1] Several of Brinkley's letters are printed in Graves's *Life* of Hamilton (1882). ley's 'blind spot' is characteristic of his age and of his race. Referring to the imp results of the Irish Academy's efforts to place the past history of Ireland on a solic Dr. Petrie tells us that when he first read a paper to the Academy on a relic of Irish art, he met with incredulous astonishment from Dr. Brinkley who said: "Sir, you do not mean to tell us that there exists the slightest evidence to prove th Irish had any acquaintance with the arts of civilised life anterior to the arrival in of the English." See Gilbert's *Dublin* 3, 241.

nigan be employed in making such translations upon heries as shall be directed by General Vallancey and Richard wan."

The Rev. Dr. John Lanigan, ecclesiastical historian, was arian to the Dublin Society. He was born in Cashel in 8 and studied at the Irish College, Rome. Soon after his lination he was appointed to the chairs of Hebrew, Ecclestical History and Divinity at the University of Pavia, where published his *Institutiones Biblicae*. In 1786, 'smelling schief,' he turned down the invitation of Ricci and of his mer teacher, Tamburini, to attend the Jansenist Synod at toia. When Napoleon's Italian victories threatened Pavia, . Lanigan returned to Ireland, landing at Cobh. He was dly received by the Bishop of Cork, for the suspicion of mburini's heresy hung about him, and he was obliged to ceed on foot to his friends in Cashel. Soon afterwards he s made professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew in Mayth College, having been proposed by the Primate and Dr. y; but he resigned the chair almost immediately, as he k offence at the suggestion of Dr. Hussey and the Bishop Cork that he should sign the anti-Jansenist formula subibed by French refugee clergy after the Revolution. It s at this stage that the estimable Vallancey, who had known n in Italy, came to his assistance and with Kirwan's help him temporary, and later permanent, employment at the blin Society, in spite of the strong sectarian prejudice t existed among the Ascendancy members against 'popish ests.'[1] For twenty years Dr. Lanigan spent himself for niserable enough wage in the services of the Dublin Society, il ultimately he became a patient in Dr. Harty's asylum Finglas. Besides labouring strenuously as a literary

[1] This sectarian prejudice continued to show itself at irregular intervals up to 1836 n Archbishop Murray was blackballed by the Royal Dublin Society. In Lanigan's the Ascendancy were represented by such terrorists as Lords Annesley, Carhampton, ereagh, Tyrawley, Glandore, Mr. Secretary Cooke, Speaker Foster, Rt. Hon. ge Ogle, Sir Boyle Roche, Viscount Hawarden, Jack Giffard the "dog in office," r Sirr who arrested and mortally wounded Lord Edward Fitzgerald, William Cope, ohn Blaquiere, and the Rt. Hon. John Beresford. Dr. Lanigan found more congenial masters or associates in the Duke of Leinster, Lords Cloncurry, Charlemont, Fingall, daff, Donoghmore, Sir John Newport, the Bishop of Derry, Henry Brooke, Judge rt Johnson, Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, Beauchamp Bagenall Harvey and Lord ntjoy, both victims to the events of 1798, Rt. Hon. Thomas Conolly, Rev. Gilbert in, Thomas Braughhall and Luke White.

drudge, he catalogued all the books and was mainly responsi for beginning the nucleus of the National Library. Fr the first day of his appointment he worked privately a steadily at his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, a work markable for its research and sincerity, and easily the b of its kind before Petrie, O'Curry and O'Donovan. Under pen-name of *Irenaeus* he did much to refute the slandi daily heaped upon Irish Catholics by a partisan press a prostituted pulpit in the days before Emancipation. W Rev. Paul O'Brien, Irish Professor at Maynooth, he took lively interest in the Dublin Gaelic Society, and he forme cordial friendship with the Haliday brothers, the young of whom he is said to have converted to Catholicism.[1]

Kirwan's associate, General Vallancey, devoted an i mense amount of time and attention to the affairs of the Dub Society, with which he was connected for half a centu He was a big florid amiable man of flashy learning, great bo ness and no scruples in questions of scholarship, and he ha gift for making folly sound plausible. He first came to I land with Lord Townshend (1761) to assist in a milit survey. During the survey he picked up some Irish. continued his studies of the language under Morris O'Gorm clerk of Mary's Lane Chapel, Dublin, and then tackled Irish manuscripts that had been collected by Sir John S bright. Within two years he began to publish books on Ir grammar, Irish philology and Irish antiquities. He exci attention by his ingenious collation of the Irish and Pu languages, and he stimulated men's minds towards Ir antiquities by the very extravagance of his oriental theor The popularity of his *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* was creased through the opposition it received from the R Edward Ledwich, whose *Antiquities of Ireland* was disparag to this country and contained many errors which were la exposed by Vallancey's friend, Dr. Lanigan. Vallan

[1]For further details see Fitzpatrick's gossipy *Life* of Dr. Lanigan and Berry's *Hi of the R.D.S.*, 175. Dr. Lanigan's duties at the Dublin Society are figuratively descr by Henebry Green who states that the learned "Doctor of Divinity plodded along shee sheep, curing fish, dissecting dung and sowing hemp." Brennan's *Ecclesiastical Hi* incidentally records that "Kirwan bore honorable testimony to the exalted merit Dr. Lanigan."

ed his fanciful views with great gusto at meetings of the h Academy, and he provoked keen interest in Irish anti- ties among other Academicians. The *Quarterly* rather tally remarked that he wrote more nonsense than any n of his time and that he occasioned much more than he ote, while the *Edinburgh Review* professed to see in his *llectanea* "a warning monument to all antiquarians and ologians who may succeed him."

Nevertheless, as Davis remarks, we owe gratitude to llancey, bad scholar as he was, as we owe gratitude to Halloran, the credulous historian, and to Walker, the shallow tiquarian. These three, with a few other Academicians, ped to put a stay on the wholesale destruction of ancient sh monuments that was going on in their day. Irish gold naments were being melted down for the sake of the very re gold they were composed of, old inscriptions were being faced, road-makers, builders of bridges, builders of corn- lls and builders of demesne-walls were damaging or threaten- New Grange, Mellifont, Monasterboice, Clonmacnoise, and endalough. The antiquarians of the Irish Academy inter- ned to save what was left. They brought wise reverence the gentry and to the Irish Protestant clergy, many of om dropped iconoclasm from their creed and ceased to ke antiquity a reproach. These antiquarians "gave a legree to nationhood, and by magnifying what Ireland had en they created a faith that she could be great again. They ited the noblest passions. They awoke men's fancy by ir gorgeous pictures of the past. They believed what they ote and their wildest stories moved men's minds" by aming men's feelings. They made knowledge of things sh fashionable. They gave a dreamy renown to ancient land and smoothed the way for the reception of Bunting's sic and Moore's poetry.[1]

The remarkable talents of Edward Bunting, whose publi- ions supplied Moore with airs for the famous *Melodies*,

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Vallancey died at the ripe age of eighty-two, a few months after Kirwan's death. He four times married—"and was not very select in the choice of some of his wives." wrote several books on engineering. A piece of artillery which he invented was tried in the Phoenix Park, and during the Ninety-Eight Rebellion he furnished the Govern-

showed themselves at an early age. At eleven he w
appointed sub-organist in a church in Belfast, where he becar
intimate with the McCracken family. In many ways Belfa
was then the capital of Irish Ireland. In 1792 the citize
entertained an important gathering of the " last of the Iri
harpers " and the meeting stimulated Bunting to start colle
ing old Irish airs. He published his first volume of *Anci*
Music of Ireland in 1796 when he was only twenty-three. I
tells us in the preface that " his principal acquisitions we
made in the province of Connaught, whither he was invit
by the celebrated Richard Kirwan the Philosopher, who w
of such influence in that part of the country, as procured t
Editor a ready opportunity of obtaining the tunes both fro
high and low." The efforts of Bunting, Stephenson and Moo
combined to make Irish melodies popular in fashiona
circles in Dublin. Societies were formed and concerts we
held to revive the memory of Carolan and the forgotten bard
and the melodies, for greater effect, were played on the ha
instead of on the pianoforte.

Kirwan was an adept in the theory of music. He wrote
treatise on harmony which is now lost. His " Pathetic Mus
or the Language of the Passions as expressed by Pergole
Galuppi, Haisse, Cocchi, Perez, Pescetti, Piccini, Jomel
Ciampi, Vinci, Bach, Vento, Guglielmi, Arne, Handel a
others," classifies melodies according to the passions they a
intended to excite, such as grief, pity, dismay, anxiety, r
morse, reproval, disdain and other lugubrious moods. I
had a remarkable knowledge of Italian music at a time wh
it was little known in the British Isles. In London he h
been a prominent supporter of Muzio Clementi, the emine
pianist and composer who conducted the Italian Oper
Clementi was frequently present at Kirwan's conversazioni
Newman Street. In Dublin Kirwan's passion for Itali
music was well known and forms the basis of a story again

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ment with plans for the defence of Dublin. The Queen's Bridge, Dublin, was built fr
designs prepared by him. He deserves to be remembered for the series of Barony ma
based on the Down Survey, which he copied from the captured originals in Paris. Th
is a portrait of Vallancey by Chinnery in the Irish Academy and another by Solom
Williams at Ballsbridge.

by the vivacious but unreliable little Lady Morgan. He etimes gave musical evenings and he encouraged young ists who showed promise. Whitelaw piously records that wan passed much of his latter time in listening to those ng ladies who excelled on the harp or pianoforte and to one whom he left a legacy solely for her musical excellence. s likely enough that he had something to do with John d's going to London to study under Clementi. John ld, who is said to have been the originator of those dreamy sical pieces appropriately called 'nocturnes,' was born in blin in 1782. He was Clementi's best pupil, but he outgrew master and rapidly became one of the foremost in that age great pianists when Beethoven was writing his last sonatas l the Abbé Liszt was commencing his triumphant career. ge audiences in every Capital in Europe flocked to hear ld play one of his celebrated piano concertos. He found many admirers in Russia that he spent the greater part of life there. He married a French pianiste, Mlle. Charpentier, whom he had one son, the distinguished Russian tenor, noff.[1]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the empiricism Locke, with its divergent branches in Berkeley and Hume, l grown popular in Dublin University circles and had used a spirit of scepticism in the upper layers of Irish iety. Many attributed to this spirit of scepticism the delity and immorality, luxury, dissipation and extravag- e common among the upper and middle classes about the e of the Union, and it was mainly for the improvement of se classes that a well-known bookseller of Capel Street, lliam Watson, founded his Association for Discountenancing e and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the istian Religion. (There was an extraordinary number of ieties and Associations of all kinds in Dublin at this period, ny of them with titles that remind us of G. K. Chesterton's b of Queer Trades). Kirwan tried to destroy the root of prevailing scepticism in his series of philosophical papers,

[1] The late Grattan Flood wrote a stimulating book about Field and his music. See nteresting article, "A Forgotten Artist," in the *Times*, 6 April, 1940, p. 4, for an nt of Sir Hamilton Harty's recent revival of Field's music at the Queen's Hall, London.

Human Liberty (1798), *Sceptical Positions in Mr. Hum* *Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding* (1800), *Space* *Duration* (1805), *Duration, Time and Eternity* (1805), an volume of metaphysical essays (1811). His unfinished treati *Commentaries on Locke's Essay on the Human Understandi* deals with the same subject. In philosophical science Kirw did not rise above mediocrity. His two volumes of Lo (London, 1809), intended for the use of law students, w badly received. His unpublished treatise on the *Duties Jurors* was also intended for law students. His essays on *Primeval Language of Mankind* (1805) and the *Origin Polytheism, Idolatry and Grecian Mythology* (1808) are curi but of no permanent value. In an essay on *Happiness* (18 later expanded into a volume, we get Kirwan's own philosop of life. After a long inquiry he concludes :—

> Philosophical pursuits by persons possessed of competent fortu like Boyle, Berkeley, Black and Newton, seem to me to be best cal lated to produce happiness, affording the purest pleasures and be least exposed to adventitious pains. Moreover, these studies can fail to impress the firmest conviction of the power, wisdom and go ness of the Creator of the universe ; and inspire corresponding se ments of piety, obedience and resignation to his will : and thus ext happiness beyond the limits of our present existence . . . At an vanced period of life at least, the study of the scriptures and of doctrines of Christianity is by far the most satisfactory and consolat of all studies.

Kirwan's own study of the Scriptures resulted in " Interpretation of such Parts of the Apocalypsis as appear have been at present Accomplished " (Dublin, 1802), whi was privately circulated. The copy in Maynooth Colle Library has a number of addenda and corrections in Kirwa handwriting, and he has written on the title-page the sensi advice : " Not to be lent to anyone." His other religio writings include some papers on the Unitarian Controver and a tract on the Atonement, a subject which deeply interest him in his early days. The final form of Kirwan's religi is doubtful. According to Hardiman (1820) Kirwan, havi lived ' preux chevalier,' died ' ferme Catholique,' and Fah (1893) quotes the authority of an anonymous ' Octogenaria

he same effect. The evidence of Donovan (1850) is that wan died a Unitarian.

Just before his death, Kirwan's reputation was such that inguished scientists from abroad came to visit him.[1] bliners proudly considered him their most famous 'local racter,' and they took delight in the crop of eccentricities had accumulated. He was never known to eat in the sence of others. This was attributed to the dysphagia, or iculty in swallowing, which he had contracted in his early s on the occasion of a day-long hunt in Galway. Like Emperor Domitian, he detested flies. He could not bear sight of them and he paid his old servant, Bernard Pope, pecial premium for each dozen killed. At Cregg he had a dy-guard' of two Irish wolf-hounds, two mastiffs and two y-hounds, all of uncommon size. They accompanied him erever he went, and on one occasion probably saved his when he was attacked by six large hogs. He was fond of king pets of animals, and he won the affection of a fierce ng eagle in truly scientific fashion. The eagle had been tured by his people at Cregg and was kept starved in a e. Kirwan hired a boy to tease the eagle day and night. er some days Kirwan would appear, beat the boy and drive away and then present food to the eagle. After a few etitions of this drama, the eagle became attached to Kir- and invariably accompanied him on his outings.

Kirwan was remarkably generous as a landlord and as a nd, and he once forgave a man a debt of four thousand nds. He gave an estate worth eight hundred pounds a r to his brother Andrew at a peppercorn rent. He never sed a beggar in the street without giving alms, but he le it a point never to give a large sum lest it be turned to a account. His numerous publications brought him in hing, although his publishers made large profits. As a rister, finding a fee of two guineas too small to pay him for labour of a complicated brief, he had been known to in- ase it to thirty pounds from his own pocket and hand it

[1] Pictet of Geneva has an enthusiastic account of his visit to Kirwan in his *Voyage ie Mois.*

to Sergeant Palmer or Mr. Scott, afterwards Lord Clonm
Once in a case of disputed property before Lord Clare,
Chancellor exclaimed : " Why this property does not bel
to either of these parties but to Mr. Kirwan the philosopl
How came he to overlook it ? " " My Lord," said Counse
Lynch, " Mr. Kirwan did not overlook it, but he *is* a philo
pher. He had enough already, he said, and did not w
it "—a bit of philosophy which puzzled Lord Clare.

The horarium of Kirwan's day was as well known to
contemporaries as the private life of a cinema star to
modern film fan. Kirwan rose at four o'clock in summer,
half-an-hour later in winter. He then descended to his st
which consisted of two rooms, in each of which a fire bur
at all seasons. The rooms were chock-full of books, wh
overflowed from presses and tables to the floors. Kirw
spent the time before breakfast reading or writing. W
engaged in writing, he supported the paper on his knee. (
portrait in the Royal Irish Academy represents him in
characteristic attitude). Tea and toast were brought to
at nine o'clock, after which he completed his toilet and
the house for exercise or business. When walking out,
was always followed by his carriage. He returned at two
resumed his studies until five, when he dined in his stu
He then descended to the drawing-room, where he met
daughters and visitors. On Wednesdays, at six o'cl
he was ' at home ' to his friends. At seven the knocker
removed from the hall-door, after which no one was allo
in, for he disliked having his guests disturbed with fr
introductions or with the noise of the knocker. The gu
already admitted were entertained with tea, coffee, wines
conversation. (Conversation was not then the casual th
it has since become). During the conversation Mr. Kir
reclined on a sofa, rolled up in a cloak or shawl, his hat o
large screen behind him and a blazing fire in front of h
no matter whether it was December or July. He alw
asked permission from his guests to wear his hat. His
was famous, a strange cross between Guy Fawkes' and A
bishop Troy's, Dr. O'Reardon tells us.

Having entertained his guests until half-past eight in er and half-an-hour later in summer, Kirwan began his ing ritual. He took out his watch and wound it. This the signal for his guests to remind him that it was now time. If they were all strangers, he announced it him- but begged the company not to move until he was ready scort them. Conversation continued while he slowly ved the buckles of his knees and shoes. Now he was y. He escorted his guests to the head of the staircase, good-night and retired to bed. His servant, Pope, who ed him for fifty years, slept in the same room. It was luty, once or twice during the night, to pour a little tea the spout of a tea-pot into his master's mouth. But Pope, overpowered with sleep, would occasionally blunder, his master would be heard exclaiming: "You booby, are pouring the tea into my eye!"

Further details of the Dublin Philosopher have been erved for us by Lady Morgan in her *Book of the Boudoir*. r the publication of her first successful novel in 1805, she ved a visit from Kirwan, which she thus describes in her l volatile and lively fashion:—

plain, dark, old-fashioned chariot drove up to the door and up a card thus inscribed:—'Mr. Kirwan, to pay his respects to the uthoress of the *Wild Irish Girl*.' My stars! [she exclaims] what s! The great Richard Kirwan, the philosopher, the chemist, the ly. the elegant, the celebrated! I first flew to the harp to get up titude, and then back to the table to seize my pen, and when the opened I was placed in a thoughtful position with the contem- ve look of a Doctor of the Sorbonne or of Lydia Languish; but pparition, which for a moment halted at the threshold and then d on in solemn gait, actually made me start. A tall gaunt figure, ped from neck to heel in a dark roquelaure, with a large-leafed apped low over the face, presented the very picture of Guy Fawkes, nothing wanted but his dark-lantern. The venerable but very lar looking philosopher stood confessed. The conversation soon ne animated and to me highly interesting . . . [After detailing onversation, Lady Morgan describes Kirwan's invitation to take ith him]. "You must take tea with me on Thursday next. It shaving day. I only pay visits or receive ladies twice a week, y shaving days. I have a good pianoforte and a fine collection of n music. You shall try both."

Lady Morgan waited on Kirwan on the appointed
and with difficulty got through the *séance*, as she calls
the heat of the room being excessive. Kirwan was dresse
the same cloak and slouched hat in which he had visited
So anxious was he to retain 'caloric' that if he were
walking and were met in Sackville Mall by the Viceroy h
self, he would not stop. If his friend wanted a word of c
versation, he must come along with him and accommo
himself to his rapid pace.

During these latter days Kirwan was delicate in c
stitution and liable to catch cold. His remedy was to st
it out, and he eventually got his death in this way. He
on the first of June, 1812, in his seventy-ninth year.
funeral, in spite of the wishes of his family that it shoul
private, was one of the largest ever seen in Dublin, sec
only to that of Father Betagh, the secularised Jesuit who
a month before. The cortège was composed of member
the Royal Irish Academy, Fellows and students of Tri
College, the Judges, the Benchers of the Honourable Societ
King's Inns, members of the Kirwanian Society, member
the Royal Dublin Society and of the Dublin Library Soci
with some professors and students of the Royal Catholic Col
of Maynooth. There were nearly a thousand gentlemen in
procession, followed by a numerous train of carriages of
nobility and gentry. The procession passed from N
Cavendish Row through Sackville Street, Westmoreland St
College Green, Dame Street, Parliament Street, Capel St
Bolton Street, Dorset Street and Temple Bar to St. Geor
churchyard. Somewhere in this restricted city churchy
the remains of the Philosopher of Dublin were interred.

P. J. McLaughl

A PIONEER OF CATHOLIC JOURNALISM

Père Vincent de Paul Bailly

BY CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

EW lives have been so full of incident as that of Père Vincent de Paul Bailly who, as founder and editor of the ıt French daily paper *La Croix*, did pioneer work in Catholic ːnalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Born in 1832, the son of a professor of philosophy who ĸ a prominent part in the revival of Catholicism in France, boy passed his earliest years in an atmosphere of apostolic and intellectual activity. At the age of ten he was ady writing with a keenness of observation and a delicate ıour not unworthy of the future editor. He took his helor's Degree at sixteen and his Degree in Science two rs later. Then, since at this time he had no idea of entering gion, though his ardent faith was evident to all who knew , he went into the Department of Telegraphs then in its ncy. There his exceptional abilities won him rapid pro- ion. He successfully demonstrated that it was possible send long distance messages direct instead of by relay as then done, and he was for some time telegraphist to oleon III. A brilliant career was before him: he was er, young, handsome, with charming manners and a lively osition. He was in constant demand for soirées and rtainments of many kinds, and the question of marriage mooted again and again. Yet so little did the subject rest him that, being on one occasion invited to meet a itable" girl, he was discovered by the lady in question asleep in a curtained alcove.

But amidst worldly distractions he never lost sight of the nal truths. He went to Mass every day and, what was in those times, to Holy Communion every week. He ĸ an active part in the work of the St. Vincent de Paul iety and was so devoted to his work among the poor that

he unhesitatingly refused promotion because it invol leaving Paris. Gradually however his thoughts were turn towards a religious vocation, and in 1860 he entered Assumptionists, whose founder, Père Alzon, had been a fri of his for many years. He found in his new life all that needed for the development of his exceptional gifts, and Superior said of him at this time : " Every morning he wa up with a new idea for winning the world for God."

After his ordination in 1863, Vincent de Paul beca director of the Assumptionist College at Nîmes and four y later, when the Pope appealed for help against Garib Père Bailly led a band of young volunteers to Rome wh he served with the Papal army for more than a year. unfailing good spirits and selfless devotion won all hea and many of the young men who crowded his tent fo their friendship with him the first step to a religious vocat The part he played in the war increased his attachment the Holy See, an attachment that was to grow ever stron in the years that followed, when on a different battlefiel was to fight for the Church with the same dauntless cou that he showed on the Roman plains. On his return Paris he went to the house of his Congregation in the François I, which was destined to become a centre of int Catholic activity but was at that time struggling to estab itself. Its work for youth and for the poor was sudde interrupted by the Franco-Prussian War and, the governm refusing to appoint chaplains, the Superior sent some of community to the battlefields. Père Bailly was stationed Metz, where the sufferings of the sick and wounded du the siege afflicted his tender heart. After the surrender and Père Etienne Pernet accompanied the prisoners to Ma where their work was rewarded with great spiritual consolat " Three hundred confessions a day. First Communions aln daily. Our work takes on the proportions of a mission. We could never have believed, though we have worked am soldiers before, that our country was in such a state," for number of soldiers who attended the sacraments after y of absence was immense.

Henceforth Père Bailly's thoughts were continually occupied
h one subject and his actions directed towards one object—
conversion of France. With the ratification of the peace
returned to Nîmes and thence, on the first day of the
nmune, to Paris, where he risked his life daily to help the
ated religious and to minister to the wounded. With peace
ne the need for reconstruction, spiritual and material. One
n of the campaign outlined by Père Picard to bring the
ce of Christ into men's hearts was significant—the press
st be made an instrument for good.

The first step was the institution of the Association of
r Lady of Salvation, whose aim was the salvation of France
universal prayer and by the return of the working classes
God. A number of clubs for working men and boys were
rted; and another undertaking, a very important one, was
inauguration of National Pilgrimages which, by overcoming
man respect and uniting prayer and mortification, might
ng a blessing on the nation. The first of these took place
La Salette in 1872 and the first pilgrimage to Lourdes in
3. Other nations followed suit, and devotion to the
ines of France increased rapidly. It was, however, with
pilgrimages to the Holy Land that Père Bailly was specially
ociated. Between 1883 and 1910 he went to Jerusalem
enty-eight times. In the early days hardship, if not actual
nger, was the usual lot of the pilgrim; but Père Bailly's
husiasm was infectious, and his spiritual outlook joined to
unceasing care for each individual made him an ideal
der. But it was as a writer and editor that Père Bailly's
atest work was to be done.

The year 1873 saw the first appearance of the *Pelerin*, the
cial organ of the Council of the Pilgrimages and of the
sociation of Our Lady of Salvation, and with its publication
gan that apostolate of the press to which Père Bailly was
nceforth to devote his life.

The immense armoury of Catholic literature which is
hered together under the name and the roof of the Maison
la Bonne Presse had a very modest beginning. The *Pelerin*
s founded without a sou and at first its readers numbered

only a few hundred. In 1877, under the direction of P Bailly, it was enlarged and illustrated, and the circulat began to increase rapidly. But its appeal, in spite of popularity, was limited and the growing power of Freemaso made a paper of a different kind essential. Accordingly, *Croix-Revue* was founded by Père Bailly in 1880 as "militant journal." "Freemasonry has discarded its m and has declared undying war on the Church." This r recruit to the army of the Church was not a weapon of defer its founder stated, but of attack.

Père Bailly realized the urgent need of a Catholic da but money was needed for such a venture and they had nc Père Picard, on whom rested the responsibility, waited a prayed. At last in 1883 he agreed that a specimen numbe the new daily—on the reception of which would depend future—should be published. It met with an enthusia reception and within a fortnight had gained five thous subscribers. The *Croix-Revue* became the *Croix*, a gr Catholic daily. Père Bailly was editor, manager, direc He *was* the *Croix*, though ably helped by an efficient a willing staff. Almost every morning an article, vigoro witty, well-informed, appeared from his pen above pseudonym of "Le Moine," a name that was to becc famous. His writing was never dull, often gay and full humour, but while he did not hesitate to enliven a seri subject by a *bon mot*, he condemned relentlessly any vacillat in matters of faith. As in the *Pelerin*, he fought the d without respite.

The phenomenal success of the *Croix* could, despite its a direction, be attributed only to supernatural help. Proof soon forthcoming. Among the laudatory voices that welcor the *Croix*, there were some critics, staunch Catholics, v professed to find matter for scandal in the crucifix t surmounted the first page. It was not fitting, they argu that it should be thus exposed. At the request of Archbishop of Paris, to whom appeal was made, Cardi Petra informed the *Croix* of the objections and left directors to act according to their own discretion. After sc

erations the crucifix was removed. The result was ing. From thirty thousand the circulation dropped to een thousand. Père Bailly hastened to the Cardinal, promptly said : " Replace the crucifix." This was done ; irculation rose rapidly until the thirty thousand figure reached and surpassed on a steadily mounting scale. directors recognized in the incident the divine protection out which they could not hope for success. The super- al element was indeed never overlooked ; prayer and fication played an important part in the history of the .

rom a human point of view it was Le Moine's remarkable alistic ability that made the success of the new paper. was a born journalist," said the *Temps* after his death. realized the power of the modern press and knew how ake use of it." He regarded the popular press, which ed those to whom the pulpit appealed in vain, as a on of incomparable value in the defence of God and of Church. He had no thought of literary fame, for his ion was to be an apostle, not a man of letters, but his was strikingly original. His energies were not confined ver to writing and editing. He was an admirable ger, and he welcomed new inventions in printing and rating. The *Croix* was the first daily to have line- ngs, and he was not satisfied until his beloved *Pelerin* ared in colour. He exercised his ingenuity in minute lations to ensure that the *Croix* was delivered as quickly as cheaply as was humanly possible. Though he was years of age when, with two hundred francs, he founded paper, his energy was amazing. At six o'clock each ng, his Mass and devotions over, he was at his desk. n his anxiety for the success of the *Croix* he never forgot ell-being of his employees. Each one was regarded as nd, and joys and sorrows brought him to their hearths, practical provision was made for their old age. Each ng's work began with prayer, and during the day " Le " would go among the staff, giving help and encourage- where it was most needed.

From the beginning the directors of the new daily declared that it would have no political leanings of any l and that neither Royalists nor Republicans could hope to support in its columns. "Let us make Christians first,' Moine told his collaborators, "and the rest will follo With political feeling running high in Paris, it was not t expected that this attitude would escape criticism. Whe 1892 the Pope's letter to the French cardinals counse acceptance of the existing government was received wi storm of dissension, which threatened to divide Catholics two parties, the *Croix* took no part in the controversy. U to declare its policy, Père Picard published at last an ar in which he reiterated the determination of the paper to st aloof from politics, and advised Catholics to unite in obedi to the Pope. "Republic or monarchy, what does it ma to us, provided that France be France and a truly Chris nation."

If in a spirit of submission to the Pope the *Croix* bad readers to adhere loyally to the established government, it quite another matter where unjust laws were concerned. Government had never disguised its hatred of the relig orders, and in 1880 the Assumptionists with a numbe other communities had been brutally expelled from t houses. But the very method of their expulsion excited p sympathy and they had been able to return. In 1895 authorities went to work with subtler if no less harsh meas A law which demanded exorbitant taxes from all relig orders was brought into action. The communities refuse submit to these unjust demands, and Le Moine defended t position in the *Croix*. "We will not submit to be depriv as religious—of that equality in the eyes of the law to w we are entitled by the rights of man and of the Constituti

The universal support which the *Croix* received made authorities realize its wide influence. Still further proof given them when in 1899 it appealed for 400,000 franc complete the dome of the Basilica of Montmartre. In a weeks over two millions were subscribed. The Governr determined that these "leagued monks" and their pow

spaper must be suppressed. Their weapon was the Law ssociations which, while affecting to safeguard the liberties he citizen, meant in practice the abolition of all religious ers. Knowing that Le Moine would exert all his powers ppose this, the obvious solution was to remove him and i him the great power of the *Croix*. On November 11, 9, every house of the Assumptionists was visited and an austive search was made in an endeavour to prove that Law of Associations was being broken. After a trial, in ch it was sought to show that the Assumptionist Order in reality a dangerous political organisation, the formal ence was pronounced—a fine of sixteen francs and expulsion n France.

From Catholic France came an outburst of indignation, i expressions of sympathy and encouragement to resistance. n Rome spoke. Leo XIII believing the assurance of the sident of the Council, Waldeck Rousseau, that the Govern- it had no hostile intentions towards the religious in general judging it wise for the sake of the other orders, requested Assumptionists to take no further part in the publication he *Croix*.

It was a crushing blow for Père Bailly, but he was a gious before all. Instantly and without a word of bitterness laid down his arms at the command of him for whom he ght, and with his fellow-religious prepared to go into exile. and Père Picard were the last to leave, and they had the solation of leaving the *Croix* in the able hands of M. Paul on Vrau. For Le Moine it was a tragic hour as he saw his k in ruins. Yet he felt no hatred of his persecutors. et us pray for our enemies," he writes, adding with racteristic humour, " they have done us so much good, rascals ! "

During the two years following the expulsions Père Bailly three pilgrimages to Jerusalem. This was henceforth to is work of predilection, to which he devoted all his energies. the end of 1901 he returned to Paris, where he took a small rtment and where he lived for some months unnoticed. n the authorities discovered his presence. This was the

terrible Père Bailly, Le Moine, from whose machinations Republic must be saved. During the absence of its ow they raided the apartment, carrying away a pile of valuel papers. Following a trial, with its sentence of imprisonm and fines, Père Bailly resigned himself to living in exile. must have suffered intensely all this time, but he gave no si He was never idle ; he visited the Assumptionist missions the East in 1903 ; he supervised the foundation of new hou of the order in London ; and at least once a year he went the Holy Land. In spite of his seventy years he led a life great activity, and all who knew him were conscious of ever increasing holiness. A man of action, he was at the sa time a man of prayer, a mystic. The Eucharist was t centre of his life, and he never allowed his engagements shorten his prayers, which often extended into the nig He gave himself unstintedly to those who sought his advi but he had a horror of idle talk. " Let us speak of the thi that really matter," he would often say.

Père Bailly possessed the virtue of humility in no sm degree. The story is told that, being invited with oth distinguished people to an ecclesiastical reunion, he took place among the simple country priests. Someone passi saw him and protested : " Père Bailly, your place is w the distinguished guests higher up."

" Who is this Père Bailly ? " one of the priests asked.

" What ! You don't know Père Bailly ? Le Moine of t *Croix* ! "

" Le Moine ! Where is he ? We have never seen hi though he is in all our presbyteries. Let us have a look him ! "

" When I want to be unnoticed, I shall call myself Pe Bailly," he said afterwards.

In 1905 a general amnesty allowed him to come back Paris, and he installed himself in a small apartment in t rue Goethe, where he lived for five years. His pen was n idle, though Le Moine appeared no more in the *Croix*. I wrote numerous articles for periodicals, and every year prepared the *Pelerin* Annual. But in 1909 the paraly

n had attacked his legs reached his hands, and for the hree years of his life, unable to hold a pen, he was wholly ndent on a secretary. This trial, the heaviest perhaps could have befallen him, he offered willingly to God. ıen I have an idea my secretary isn't there, and when my ideas are gone," he used to say regretfully. One consolation he had in the affection of the workers in the on de la Bonne Presse, which he sometimes visited and e his bust had an honoured place. Looking at this bust ne occasion, with a whimsical smile he said: "*He* n't age!"

las! the original was aging. Increasing infirmities made realize that his course was nearly run, and the thought him with joy. His last journey was in 1912 to the ion of his Chapter General at Louvain, where he grew e; he could not rest in any position and to physical ring was added a terrible weariness of soul. He longed e among his community; but God willed otherwise, and he 15th November he returned to his lonely apartment in s. Seventeen days of crucifixion for spirit no less than ody were passed before the end came on the dawn of ightieth birthday, December 2, 1912.

wo days later Parisians wondered to see a simple hearse through the streets followed by a cortège that seemed retch for miles. In the cemetery of Montparnasse, among rothers in religion, Vincent de Paul Bailly was laid to rest. he influence which his life and work had on the Catholic s, not only in France but in the whole world, can never ully estimated; and it still lives in the paper which he ded—*mortuus adhuc loquitur*. No man knew the power ıe press better than Père Bailly, and no man fought so ıtlessly to uphold the good and destroy the evil of the ted word.

CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

REVIEWS

Archaeology

THE PREHISTORIC FOUNDATIONS OF EUROPE to Mycenean Age. By C. F. C. Hawkes. London : Methuen. 19 21s. net.

HOW CIVILIZATION CAME. By Lord Raglan. Lond Methuen. 1939. 6s. net.

European archaeology has made remarkable progress during the twenty years. Such progress has the defect for the non-specia student that it very quickly puts his text-books out of date. Gro in knowledge also inevitably implies the greater and greater accumu tion of detail, while, as in all developing sciences, one set of questi is only solved by giving way to another, and to the layman fina seems always unattainable. This appearance, however, is at least a considerable extent illusory. The specialist is easily able to sh how the outlines of the picture become firmer and clearer and its co ponent parts more fixed and certain in spite of the apparently wildering jumble of new terms and hypotheses. Mr. Hawkes's boo designed for just this purpose. While in the nature of the cas makes fairly difficult reading, and while it necessarily can only p lightly over any particular phase of an enormous subject, it does succ admirably in conveying the impression of progress towards cla and conclusiveness in European prehistoric archaeology as a whol

Mr. Hawkes is assistant Keeper of Antiquities in the British Muse and is thus ideally placed for the composition of such a synthesis as gives us here. We take learning for granted in the holder of such office as his ; but it must be acknowledged with admiration that mastery of so many special problems, the ease with which he mo among the truly formidable and ever-shifting details of his diffi science, and the clarity and order with which he presents the res of such rapidly-advancing work, prove him the possessor not alone great industry but also of an unusual gift for logical exposition. book will be a most valuable guide to the archaeological specialist well as a fascinating introduction for the general reader to a v interesting subject. One of its most attractive features is its econo of structure, which does not allow a word to be wasted on inessenti while its conclusions are free from the tendency towards a cert rashness and towards a false " novelty " which often marks such wo It is much to be hoped that Mr. Hawkes will have the opportunity keep it, in successive editions, abreast of further discovery, and t make it the standard textbook for a long time to come that deserves to be.

At first sight the lower limit chosen by Mr. Hawkes for his tre ment may seem rather strange, because it leaves outside the scope his book all the later half of the Bronze Age in Western and Cent

pe. The reason for his choice of a limit is to be found in an impor- principle of his whole approach to his subject. If this principle be historical than strictly archaeological in character, the reader only all the more reason to welcome it, for archaeology is after all intelligible in a historical setting. Mr. Hawkes views the epoch e fall of Knossos, about 1400 B.C., as marking the point at which European civilisation reached its " cultural balance "—in other s, the point at which Europe, after a long tutelage to the older res of the Orient, reached maturity, independence, " mastery in wn house." Mycenae is the beginning of culturally autonomous pe. Nothing in Mr. Hawkes's book is more interesting than demonstration of how Europe, in its prehistoric foundations no than in its splendid later phases, drew its cultural life from the ern Mediterranean, whether that life flowed up by way of the ube valley or around with the Atlantic carriers of the " Megalithic on."

There is space in a brief review only to refer to a very few points which Mr. Hawkes will be found specially interesting. One important one is the shifting of the balance in regard to the ion between the so-called Old and New Stone Ages, and between latter and the Bronze Age. Since the culmination, over thirty s ago, of " classic " prehistory on the French model, the rigid utionism which characterised that magnificent intellectual structure largely broken down. The Ice Age epoch of the cave-dwellers their strange magic art no longer receives the same space, and hasis is now laid on the briefer Mesolithic period which followed on post-glacial changes in the European climate. During this period, e some of the Palaeolithic techniques fell into disuse, there was iderable development and adaptation to new conditions, and in a great part of Europe remained in this intermediate state until paratively recent times—a state in which food-gathering and ing were the typical occupations, favoured by special climatic litions.

The succeeding Neolithic age, on the other hand, is now viewed less n independent phase, occurring everywhere as part of a regular utionary process, than as a " radiation " (to use Professor Toyn- word) into this outer barbarism from the higher cultures of the East, which were to a greater or lesser extent metal-using from start. Thus both the Danubian peasant-culture and the Atlantic ement which produced great monuments like Brúgh na Bóinne their original focus in the Aegean offshoot of the primitive copper- ing states of the Levant. In the same way the carriers of Indo- pean speech, who in the late third millennium B.C. broke into ral Europe with their stone battle-axes, domesticated horses, and

habit of covering their dead with ochre or red clay, represent
radiation through the Caucasus or around the Caspian Sea from
city civilisations of Mesopotamia.

It will be noted that the universal tendency in prehistory is
the once fashionable rigidity in evolutionary categories to be br
down. A minor, but important instance of this tendency is to be f
in Mr. Hawkes's treatment of the Megalith question. Thirty y
ago the doctrine of Montelius, which established a clear cut deve
ment from simple dolmen to corbelled vault, was supreme. Since
it has become clear that this typology, while intelligible for Scan
avian conditions, " began at the wrong end " for the Megalithic
as a whole. The relation between dolmen and corbelled vault is
one of evolution from simple to complex, but is dictated by geogra
and economic conditions. A final instance of the variety and inte
provided by Mr. Hawkes may be seen in his adoption (p. 291) of Dav
suggestion that the legend of the bringing of Apollo from Minoan C
to Delphi may be a distant echo of the fact that Crisa was the
source of tin in primitive Greece.

Lord Raglan's little book is a popular contribution to the literat
of Diffusionism. As such, while pretending to no special author
it is very readable and instructive. His thesis is that " many of
principal discoveries and inventions upon which our civilizatio
based can be traced . . . to an area with its focus near the hea
the Persian Gulf, and . . . were made by ingenious priests as a me
of facilitating the performance of religious ritual." It will be s
that there is in fact considerable plausibility in at least the first p
of this thesis, while the second part at least recognises, if too ex
nally, the great importance of religion in the whole question of cult
growth. Lord Raglan is at any rate more nearly right than the ev
tionary rationalisers whom he strongly criticises. M. T

Biography

SAINTE RADEGONDE. Princesse barbare et Reine de Fra
Par Jacques Nanteuil. Paris : Bloud et Gay. 1938. Pp. 1
18 fr.

From the ascetical point of view this Life of Saint Radegunde is brim
of interest ; for it proves that the human spirit, responding heroica
to the impulse of grace, is capable of rising to the heights of sanct
under the most unfavourable circumstances. For never, perhaps, i
country calling itself Christian was there a soil less calculated to produ
flowers of holiness than Frankish Gaul of the sixth century.

Theoretically, indeed, the Franks had abandoned their age-
paganism in 496, but corresponding effects in the realm of condu

e slow to appear. In illustration of this truth we need not go ond Radegunde's own experiences. By birth she was a Thuringian ıcess ; but her father, then king, had been assassinated by his own ther, and he in turn had been defeated and slain by the Franks. e year of this catastrophe was 531. After a violent altercation ong the victors as to whose spoil she should be, Radegunde passed lot into the keeping of Lothar I, king of Soissons, who bore her as a soner to Gaul. She was then a fair-haired maiden of twelve. Thanks ıer personal charms rather than to her royal lineage, she was treated h consideration and suitably educated. A brother younger than self was likewise admitted to Lothar's favour.

The king's intention in respecting the liberty of his captive was to ke her in time his queen. This purpose he duly fulfilled. But har was a notorious libertine, and the looseness of his habits made existence of his legitimate wife a living martyrdom. Her sufferings e all the greater because of those eager longings for a life of exalted ue which grew ever stronger in her soul after her conversion to istianity. Soon the king was complaining that he had brought into palace not a consort but a nun.

As she gazed around the Court, there was little for Radegunde to but meanness, debauchery, treachery, murder. Relations between husband and herself became so strained that a break was ultimately vitable. It came, alas, in a cruel form. Of all living creatures legunde loved most her brother, the last male representative of family and the sole surviving link with the happy days of her child- d in Thuringia. He alone had her full confidence. Imagine then feelings when just as he had entered on man's estate he was ass- nated by Lothar's orders ! Life with that detested lord was thence- h unendurable. Radegunde fled the palace and took refuge at von under the protection of Saint Médard. To get further away n the pursuing king she withdrew to Poitiers, where she founded a ous convent, whose history is recorded at length in the pages of gory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus.

Those expert in monastic affairs find this community in Aquitaine thy of close attention. The fugitive queen endowed the institution rally out of her ample resources. She did not herself become ess, but she nominated to the post an intimate friend, who had it many years in her personal service. In the convent, then, egunde was a simple nun under obedience, though obviously a ole nun with a difference. At first the Rule was a makeshift of her devising. About 567, however, it gave way to the Rule of St. sarius of Arles. The change, in general, was from mildness to rity, and was felt, perhaps, most severely by the celebrated antius Fortunatus, a friend whose learning and culture were much

appreciated by the holy women. Though a poet, Fortunatus was a epicure, and none better than the kindly Sisters in the kitchen cou meet his appetite for dainty dishes. Nor were the benefits one-side About 568 a cousin at Constantinople procured for Radegunde fro the Emperor Justin a particle of the True Cross. Fortunatus w commissioned to thank the donor for his gift. He did so in two poem the "Vexilla Regis" and the "Pange Lingua," which still have honoured place in the liturgy of the Church.

Nothing could be more edifying than the mortified life of Radegunc When she died in 587, leaving behind a community of 200 nuns, s was regarded universally as a saint. Yet soon after her death t convent had to face cruel trials. The incidents which then occurr are happily unparalleled in the annals of monasticism. There was villain of the piece, one Clotild, daughter of King Charibert, but grar daughter, on her mother's side, of a poor herdsman! With her, a silly but dangerous league, were a royal cousin and several nuns "senatorial" family. They planned to depose the abbess and p Clotild in her stead. When the effort failed, they journeyed to Tou in a body of forty and appealed to their powerful kinsfolk for he Some returned to the world by way of matrimony; the rest went ba to Poitiers, where they took up residence in the church of St. Hila hired a band of toughs and criminals and made war, in the literal sen on the abbess and convent. It took time and military force, as w as the authority of the bishops, to restore order.

About two years after these sorrowful incidents St. Columb arrived in Gaul. It is important to realize the barbarism of Frank habits and the dark shadows which lay across the Church's path understand fully the nature of his achievement. He was a man w would tolerate no half-measures. Sin was sin, and in season and o of season he would proclaim the fact to the Franks, whether they wish to hear it or no! The same uncompromising note was the Leitmo of his Rule. This high seriousness in harmonizing conduct with avow principle was his chief contribution to the advance of the Catho faith in France. And his influence in this respect was enormous. Bef his advent the country was fairly well supplied with monasteri Thus in the sixth century the diocese of Bourges had seven, that Clermont twelve, that of Tours seventeen. Thanks to St. Columb there was an extraordinary increase. Before the year 700 the dioc of Vienne had about sixty religious houses, and the city itself abo 1,500 monks! Houses with 300 and more brethren were not unco mon. A convent that contained but twenty-five nuns was regard as quite insignificant.

While, again, the star of Lérins waned, that of Luxeuil grew. Rule was adopted, in whole or in part, by a multitude of monasteri

n about 650 onwards it was commonly combined with the Rule of Benedict, but synthetic Rules, based on three or more observances, e also forthcoming. In this way it is likely that no small amount he Columban spirit was hidden in the Rule given by Benedict op to the monastery of Wearmouth, established by him about 675. his deathbed he declared: "For all things I have found most llent in 17 monasteries whereunto I came, in the travel to and fro ny long and many journeyings, I committed to memory and con- ed to you to keep and profit therefrom." Most of these establish- its must have been in Frankish Gaul. It is likely then that the erable Bede would have been surprised had he realized how much owed, indirectly if not directly, to Irish monasticism.

Enough has been said to show that, in addition to its value as the graphy of a saint, this book is of great interest to the historically ded Irish reader. J. R.

E MOORES OF MOORE HALL. By Joseph Hone. London: Jonathan Cape. 1939. 12s. 6d. net.

Ireland there is a curious pathos associated with the decline and of the "big house," which is intensified when it is one of those se history has been sympathetically bound up with the national itions of the country. Moore Hall in Mayo belonged to that cate- y. The story of its owners is interestingly told in this book from time, one hundred and fifty years ago, when the handsome Georgian se rose in beauty in a lonely Mayo countryside till its destruction ng the madness of the civil conflict in 1922. Each of the four erations of the Moore family during that period established inti- e friendly contacts with the Ireland of their time, and the names a few of them have passed into its history. Markedly tempera- ital, at times Quixotic, often of a fine chivalry, they occasionally ealed in their actions an erratic strain that lent them a quaint inctiveness.

Although the family were settled as landowners in Mayo for many uries, it was not till the second last decade of the eighteenth that y came into prominence when the first George Moore, who had rated to Spain as a young man, returned with a large fortune ch he had amassed in the wine trade. Leaving that country, he led in his native county where he purchased large tracts of land in 1780 built the Georgian house which was to be the home of his endants till its destruction in 1922. (Though the family's trade nection with Spain then ended, the late Colonel Maurice Moore, tly before his death, told me that some years ago a local insur- ion in that country was led by a George Moore, whom he believed be a kinsman).

One of the most curious of the many portraits woven in the tapes of the family in this book is that of John Moore, eldest son of the f George, the builder of Moore Hall. Educated in France, he la pursued the study of law in London, where he seems to have lived wild irresponsible life of the young men of his class at the time. returning to Ireland he settled at his father's home, where he living when the French expeditionary force under General Humb landed on the Mayo coast in the autumn of 1798. On the occupat of the town of Castlebar a few days later, a considerable number adherents to the French cause—among whom, as is generally believ was John Moore—came into the town from the countrysides arou During the week that the town was in Humbert's hands the title " President of the Connaught Republic " seems to have been confer on Moore. Yet, strangely enough, when, on the approach of a la English force, the little Franco-Irish army marched hurriedly out the town, the only representative of the old landed Catholic fam of the county, who had thrown in their lot with Humbert, to be behind in Castlebar was Moore. There he seems to have awaited arrival of the English troops, who placed him under arrest.

The role played by this John Moore in the western insurrectio clouded in some mystery. There is in the Irish State Paper Offic long document (which Mr. Hone probably overlooked) in the form Memorial from Moore to the Marquis Cornwallis, the Lord Lieuten requesting release or trial on the ground that, on the French occu tion of Castlebar, he resided with his father at Moore Hall, where employed his time in dissuading their tenantry from joining the surgent forces, a body of whom plundered their house. He furt states that, two days before the French left Castlebar, his father direc him to go to that town to get protection for Moore Hall against re attacks ; that General Humbert, finding he could speak French fluen insisted on his remaining with him and refused to permit his ret home ; and that, after the French left, he exerted himself in prevent a considerable amount of arms from falling into the hands of reb and in preserving the cattle near the town for the use of his Majest troops. And finally he states that he had no relations, direct or direct, with the United Irish Society, and requests that he be allow to lay before his Excellency the affidavits of persons who can pro these facts.

Another notable figure of the family was George Henry Moo whose varied and restless life, as told by Mr. Hone, reads like a roman An extensive traveller in Europe and the East as a young man, afterwards became a prominent figure on the Turf and one of the b gentleman riders of the day. Entering politics he envisaged, thi years before Parnell, that statesman's policy of an independent Ir

y. Later he joined the Fenian organisation, and Mr. Hone de-
es the curious scene of O'Donovan Rossa waiting, one day in 1865
he street outside the Courthouse at Balla, for Moore who was
tioning within as High Sheriff of Mayo.
n account of the careers of George Henry Moore's two sons—
ge and Maurice—brings the history of the family down to our own
The chapters devoted to the clashes and quarrels of the two
hers form the not least interesting portion of the book. In George,
list and critic—the serio-comic *poseur* whom older Dublin remem-
for his egoism and bizarre character during his residence in the
al—not a few of his ancestors' traits are seen, and posterity will
ably remember him as the outstanding member of a distinguished
metimes whimsical family.
Ir. Hone has written an enlivening and interesting book, which is
llished by some fine portraits and photographs. Some of his
opinions expressed here and there in its pages reveal, however,
lien outlook of a class that is fortunately fast disappearing from
ountry. He laments, for example, that " a sour puritanical sort
atriotism turns its face aside from those deeds of valour which
won for Irish regiments a glorious place in British military history."
it is with some surprised amusement that one learns that, during
ivil conflict of 1922, the measures taken by the government of
Free State to establish order were " severer than had ever been
n against Irish rebellions by the British government " ! R. H.

SSED ROSE PHILIPPINE DUCHESNE. Religious of the Sacred Heart and Missioner. 1769—1852. By L. Keppel. London: Longmans. 1940. 2s. 6d.

short biography of Mother Duchesne comes opportunely at a
ent when the news of her Beatification has awakened fresh interest
r life. The subject is admirably handled by the author, who has
n us an attractive portrait of Blessed Rose Philippine, whilst
hing in an adequate historical background. Mother Duchesne's
years were spent in Grenoble, where she experienced the full
s of the French Revolution, which drove her from her convent
whilst still a Visitandine novice; and her labours for the victims
e Revolution are vividly described. St. Madeleine Sophie Barat
ought before us as the foundress of a new Society of women, con-
ted to the Sacred Heart and devoted to teaching; and the life-
friendship which sprang up between the two Saints gives us a
iful picture of the tender love and understanding which can
between chosen souls.
rom revolutionary France we travel in company with Mother
esne and her little band of missionaries to the newly created

United States of America, and the story of their heroic enduran drawn from the letters and journals of the nuns themselves. It record of hardships bravely borne and of the growth in holine Mother Duchesne, written simply and truthfully, with no att to soften the shadows in the picture which serve to enhance the be of the central figure.

It is a pity that so scholarly a piece of work should be marre occasional colloquialisms and irritating misprints. M. M.

RICHELIEU. His Rise to Power. By Carl J. Burckhardt. T lated and abridged by Edwin and Willa Muir. London : All Unwin. 1940. 16s.

Dr. Burckhardt's book has been much praised, and rightly. Wr with sound knowledge of the period and with remarkable insight the characters of the men whose actions he is studying, this stu of history turned international politician makes most effective u his own modern experiences. Richelieu is admittedly the fou of the modern French nation ; and his amazing gifts as statesr combined with a deadly clear vision of what he wished to ach make his life's work a classic example of modern national statec Dr. Burckhardt has limited his theme to the early years of the g Cardinal's rise to power, ending with the " Day of Dupes." A from the central figure in his story, he has been wonderfully succe in recreating the background of the French court under the y Louis XIII, with Marie de Médicis as Queen Regent. Perhaps the disappointing figure in this great canvas of portraits is the myste Père Joseph, Richelieu's " Eminence grise," whose political tho and policy are here imperfectly studied.

I have said that this book reflects the personal experiences o author in modern political life. A quotation may be permitted sample of his style. After a brilliant sketch of Spain's great pow a world-empire under Philip II, Dr. Burckhardt adds this te account of Spain's great adversary : " A political genius, Card Richelieu beyond all others, after the premature death of Henry succeeded in spying out the frailties of the enemy during the cent long struggle between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg ; n than anyone else he knew how to split the power of his oppon how to rally new enemies against it, to stir up all that was most dan ous in it as a force for self-destruction, to encompass its dow methodically and unremittingly through the encouragement he g to the canker which long before had begun to invade the huge bod the Spanish Empire."

Dr. Burckhardt is plainly fascinated by this French statesm so utterly ruthless, so cool in his judgment and so deadly clear in

on, who set himself to create the most united nation-state of modern ope. That Cardinal Richelieu threw the whole weight of his in- nce on the Protestant side in the German wars of religion is, of se, a truism to all students of the period. That a Cardinal of the nan Church should thus have set himself to undo so much that had achieved during the Middle Ages is a queer commentary on the tive strength of two loyalties in a statesman's heart. From the s of the Avignon Papacy French Cardinals had been noted for their lency to put France first, always and everywhere. Richelieu ied that doctrine to its ruthlessly logical conclusions. But an esiastical career was chosen for him by his family as a stepping- e to worldly power; and there can have been very little doubt the first that France, not Rome, would win in this tragic con- .

P. D.

Celtica

IL-SGRIBHINN EOIN MHIC NEILL. Essays and Studies presented to Professor Eoin Mac Neill, D.Litt., on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Edited by Rev. John Ryan, S.J., D.Litt. Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles. 1940. P. xv. + 593.

E time ago, in the course of a debate in Dáil Éireann on the proposed itute of Celtic Studies, it was said that Irish scholarship in this try was non-existent, that we were dependent on foreign scholars our knowledge of Irish studies. However true that statement may e been forty years ago—and even then it would not have been lly true—it is ludicrously untrue to-day. During the past twenty s an ever-increasing amount of careful and thorough work has been e in Irish language and literature, in history, both profane and esiastical, in folklore and in antiquities. The scholar to whom *féil-sgríbhinn* has been presented by his fellow-workers and his lents is in his own person surely a sufficient answer to such a ge. For more than fifty years—the "Bibliography" attached his book records his first printed work, an article contributed to *leabhar na Gaedhilge*, as appearing in the year 1889—Dr. Mac l has laboured unceasingly, first as one of the pioneers of Language Revival and then as a historian who, as *An t-Uachtarán* in a charming letter prefixed to this work, "has done most to l light on dark and obscure regions of Irish history."

This collection of studies—fifty in all—is a token of the respect admiration due to a great scholar. But it is more. While the bulk ssays come, as is only right, from Irish hands, the book acquires international or rather a super-national character from the fact it contains contributions not only from England, Scotland and es, but also from France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Sweden

and the U.S.A. And that it does so is surely a tribute to Eoin M Néill's unfailing kindliness and courtesy in a sphere in which it is o too easy to yield to destructive and bitter criticism.

There are four groups of essays. The first twenty-five essays d with Celtic languages, early and modern. They include an interesti paper by Mr. Gerard Murphy on "Analogy in Middle-Irish Conju tion," which is a contribution to a subject that has as yet received l little attention, namely the transition from late-Middle to early-Mod Irish. Father McKenna treats of the remarkable number of differ shades of meaning which the word "*geall*" has in Bardic Poet Professor John Fraser discusses the compilation of Cormac's Gloss and its relations to other Irish glossaries. Professor T. O'Rahilly, a well-reasoned essay, rejects both the traditional interpretation of t name *Cairbre Cattchenn* and also (in opposition to most histori scholars) the legend of a proletarian rising in early Ireland. Father Shaw gives us a list and a brief description of a large number of u published medico-philosophical treatises in early-Modern Irish, whi when they will have been edited by Father Shaw in the Irish Te Society series, should be a valuable contribution towards the develo ment of a standard and literary modern Irish.

The second group, of six essays, deals with archaeology. Here liked especially District Justice Price's paper on "Glendalough : Kevin's Road." Mr. Price discusses three questions : the origins St. Kevin, his road over Wicklow Gap, and the first site of the monast of Glendalough. His tracing of the road makes a fascinating bit reading and shows what can be done by careful study of traditi both oral and written, and by an examination of the actual site. this connection I must mention Colm Ó Lochlainn's essay in the n section on "Roadways in Ancient Ireland." From a study of pla names, itineraries of Saints and other journeys recorded in early liter ture, Mr. Ó Lochlainn has reconstructed a map of roadways as th may have existed formerly. One looks forward with pleasure to t further development of this subject promised in the present essay.

With the third group, containing fifteen essays on "Early a Medieval Irish History," we come to Dr. Mac Néill's own terrain, a both in the wide range of subjects and in the careful historical meth evident in the essays one may recognise his beneficent influence in t school of Irish historical study. In a paper which makes hard b satisfying reading Professor James Hogan discusses the remarkab problem of the intrusion, in the eleventh century, of two Dáil Cha kings in the territory of Telach Óc which was a sub-kingdom of t Cenél nEoghain, and that at a time when the High King, Toirdelbac Ua Brian of Dál Chais, was threatening the independence of Tír Eoghai

Much of what Plummer wrote in the Introduction to his "Vita

torum Hiberniae " might have been termed " *piis auribus offen-* " ; but Father Felim Ó Briain, in an article on " The Hagio- hy of Leinster," regards many of these same " Lives " as decadent olications whose sole aim was, by ridiculous exaggeration of miracle-working powers of the Saints, to extort payment of dues the districts which " enjoyed " the patronage of the Saint in tion. He attributes the later decadence of the monasteries to the icious and widespread habit of lay patronage and the consequent sion, as Abbot, of members of the local reigning family. That ustom was not so universal as Father Ó Briain seems to imply we gather from Father John Ryan's paper on " The Abbatial Succes- at Clonmacnois." The lists of successive Abbots in this monastery, its foundation to the close of the twelfth century, are still extant, after a close study of the various names and of the obits in the als Father Ryan comes to the conclusion that, not only was the ession not confined to the founder's family, but that very few of bbots were members of the powerful neighbouring families. In the predominance of Abbots sprung from what Father Ryan ' the hard-working middle class ' is remarkable in view of monastic e of the time. That the monastery remained true to this tradition ng its history may account for its moral and ascetic supremacy its fellows.

he final section, of four articles, is on " Folklore," and contains ssay by Professor von Sydow of Lund University in which he sses the presence, in such widely-scattered regions as Japan, oa, Greece and Ireland, of the same motif in a folk-tale. From act that Megalithic remains are present in these regions he suggests theory that the folk-tale may have been spread not only by the *erwanderungen* but also by colonisation by small groups which culturally superior to the native inhabitants. Hence, he suggests, nay have in Ireland a double stratum of folk-tales : a pre-Celtic or alithic one, and a second which we share with other peoples in lle and Northern Europe.

n a review of such a book as this, it seems to me that something ld be said of the editor's part in it. Father Ryan has carried out, conspicuous success, what must have been a difficult and at the e time a delicate task. There is a good balance between the various ons ; a limiting, in most cases, of the articles to a length suitable uch a collaboration ; and, above all, a careful reading of proofs h has its result in a work that is singularly free of misprints. And I may add a word of praise for the printer. It was a bold under- ng to print and publish such a book in this country, where there been as yet little experience in such specialised work. But it a boldness that has been justified by the result ; and " The Sign e Three Candles " may be justly proud of its achievement.

X

Finally, may I quote and concur in the conclusion of Profes Thurneysen's article on the legal term '*sochor*'? "Dineen's *Foc* gives many meanings for *sochar*—e.g., profit or source of profit, bene advantage . . . asset, increase, produce . . . relief, comfort, ea prosperity. While we cannot be sure if they have all grown out the legal meaning, this much at least is certain: that they descr just a few of the good things we all so heartily wish E Mac Néill." P. T

STAIR ERCUIL OCUS A BÁS. The Life and Death of Hercu Edited and translated by Gordon Quin. Dublin: Published the Irish Texts Society by the Educational Company of Irela 1939. Pp. xl + 263. 16s.

THIS text is a translation, or rather an adaptation, of portion of t medieval French tale: "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes" writt by Raoul Lefevre in 1464. This was translated and printed by Willi Caxton in 1471, and a second edition was printed in 1503. The Ir scribe and, as Mr. Quin holds, the translator was the well-known scr Uilliam Mac an Leagha who lived in the second half of the fifteer century. Mr. Quin has compared the Irish text with the English a with the French and comes to the conclusion that Mac an Leag worked on the first edition of the English text. This would theref put the translation between the years 1471 and 1503. Mac an Leag was probably connected with the well-known medical family of th name to which we owe a number of Irish medical tracts. Fat Paul Walsh, in an article in the *Catholic Bulletin* (August 1935), d cusses their history; but he has not yet, so far as I am aware, publish his notes on Uilliam.

Mr. Quin compares the Irish text with both the original Fre text and with similar Irish tales, such as *Togail Troí* and *Cath Cathar* and adduces many interesting parallels between them. With t exceptions of two apparently deliberately archaised portions of t text, the editor believes the language of the translation to be the n mal one of the period 1450-1500. It would, in fact, be difficult to s what the normal prose of that period was. But it seems possible th there existed two 'schools' of writers: one, which may be called t traditional one, trained in the language of the poetry and histori schools and using a grammar and syntax which was deliberately arc aised; and the other, whose members were either of the medical famil or who wrote for popular consumption, compilers or translators of liv of Saints or of books of devotion. There is, for example, in the R.I. a life of the Blessed Virgin in 23B3 which was transcribed in 1464 a its grammar is far and away more 'modern' than that of this te There is not a single example in it of the *s*-preterite, of the form *r*

of the infixed pronoun. It would seem then that Mac an Leagha ned to the traditional school. But it is also possible that, in slating this text, which falls into the category of 'heroic' tales, as influenced by the style of such tales in Irish. However, in view ie fewness of texts from this period that have been published, it ry difficult to come to any definite conclusion. In the meantime, Quin is to be thanked for making this one available to us and, in cular, for his very thorough study of its grammatical features in Introduction. There is, in addition, a full glossary which shows clearly the fluctuation in forms that was prevalent during this d. S. Ó C.

Classics

ECTIONS FROM ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. The Greek Text edited with Introduction and Commentary. By Right Rev. J. F. D'Alton, D.D., D.Litt. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1940. 8s. 6d. net.

RT from an unfinished and now almost unobtainable French selection such valuable works as Nairn's little edition of the *De Sacerdotio*, out of print, students of St. John Chrysostom have hitherto had sort to the great collections of Montfaucon or Migne if they wished ad him in the original Greek. The interest in him among English lars which produced in 1612 the famous complete edition in eight mes by Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton, has long since dwindled Montfaucon and Migne are accessible only in a few public ries, and the former presents formidable difficulties to the ordinary er. This inaccessiblity has meant a great loss, alike to the specialist atristic studies and to classical students in general. From the t of view of pure literature, the Saint was the most remarkable r in the splendid array of the fourth century Fathers of the Church. mowitz, a first-class judge in this respect, calls him "a truly great omenon." A comparison between his work and that of the classical orators illustrates the whole development of Greek prose as a um of artistic expression. His language and style, while easily ligible to readers fresh from Demosthenes, are at the same time ced by numerous and subtle differences, under which lies a long ess of decay and revival.

Mgr. D'Alton, in preparing the present volume of selections, has done a most valuable as well as a very difficult piece of work. His , beautifully printed by the Cambridge Press, contains in the first a representative series of texts of satisfactory length, covering y aspect of the Saint's literary activity: sermons, Biblical com- taries, treatises, and last but not least the vivid letters in which he ouchingly describes the miseries endured during the exile which

darkened the end of his life. But this is only a part, if the most i portant part, of the book. Each extract is preceded by a clear a well-arranged introductory essay and followed by a full comment containing all the biographical, doctrinal, and linguistic explanat that the reader can desire. The whole is prefaced by a concise very complete account of the Saint's life and a critical essay on writings and style with abundant references to ancient and mod authorities.

No very formidable textual difficulties arise in the case of St. Jo and Mgr. D'Alton is content to follow Montfaucon, giving a selection variant readings where necessary. His object has not been to prod a critical text, which would be a work of great labour, requiring m time and travel. For the historical side of the Saint's life he has the exhaustive study of Dom Chrysostom Baur to fall back upon ; his conclusions are always the fruit of his own independent and v sound judgment. His extensive learning is most excellen displayed in the notes on chapters VII and XII, entitled "I at Antioch and Constantinople" and "Purple and Other Patche respectively. Here the student of Roman history will fi much to fascinate and instruct him, for few aspects of conte porary life or manners were left untouched in St. John's eloqu and stern commentaries. Other topics fully illustrated in ma extracts are the connection between Christian preaching and the d tribe of the Hellenistic philosophers, the early history of the Litur upon which St. John exercised a considerable influence, the so question and the relation between State and Church in the fou century, the Councils and the position of the Papacy vis-à-vis new ecclesiastical power at Constantinople. Mgr. D'Alton has natura a very keen understanding for and sympathy with his many-sid author, but this does not prevent him from drawing the studen attention to the obvious defects which were inherent in the rhetori style as well as springing from the temperament of the Saint and taste of his audience. This book is surely destined to have far-reachi and beneficial effects on the study of Greek both here in Ireland a wherever in the world Irish students and teachers are at work.

M. T

LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE A ROME à l'Apogée de l'Empi
Par Jérôme Carcopino. Paris : Hachette. 1939. 25 fr.

The name of this book's author is by itself a sufficient guarantee excellence. Professor Carcopino stands pre-eminent among Fren classical scholars in virtue of many works which have already alm become classics themselves, such as his *Sylla*, his *Basilique Pytha ricienne*, and most recently his remarkable monograph on Caes

two contemporaries of equal rank in the same field, the late Tenney ık and Rostovtzeff, he works always on a basis of full and careful ımentation, especially archaeological, and his earlier study on the vations at Ostia has obviously been of great value to him in pre- ng the present book. In form it is one of a series on daily life as l at various epochs in history, and all its companion volumes deal the history of France. There could be no better introduction to a series, and we are glad to learn that this book has already been slated into English.

Readers whose youth received the ponderous impression of Bekker's *us* are apt to approach such a book as this with a certain forgivable udice. Their expectation of boredom is sure to be disappointed. is no conventional compilation, but a fresh and vigorous personal y, in which the well-known material from Pliny, Juvenal, Martial, their contemporaries is reanimated by a wealth of new facts, nal judgments, and illuminating comparisons, all conveyed in a iantly colourful style. The book should stand high among numerous masterpieces of popular exposition which French larship has given the world in recent years. In many ways ecalls Ferdinand Lot's great *Fin du Monde Antique*, to which, hything, it is superior in learning and sureness of judgment. ing as his standpoint the magnificent Forum inaugurated by an in 112 A.D., of which he evokes a picture full of and animation, M. Carcopino first discusses the physical aspect of city at its greatest, its extent and population, housing, street life traffic. From this he passes to what he calls *le milieu moral*, the l hierarchy, slavery, wealth and poverty, marriage and the family, ation and religion. Next comes a section entitled *l'emploi du s*, in which are discussed the round of daily life in Rome, institutions as clientship and its social effects, the law-courts, the public sements of the masses, and finally such pastimes as gambling, great baths, and the Roman *cuisine*.

On practically all these subjects M. Carcopino has something new arresting to say. Here and there, it is true, we do run into some- g conventional, such as his rather excessive praise of Stoic matrons Arria, but these lapses into the ordinary are rare, and on almost y page we are confronted not merely with fresh views but with most up-to-date evidence. This is a particularly striking feature ıe first section, on the physical background of Roman life. It ld be hard to excel the discussion on the size of Rome and its ılation, in which M. Carcopino joins issue with such authorities . Lot, coming to the conclusion that in the second century A.D. the housed little short of a million and a half people. Over against conclusion he puts his view of the Roman housing problem, and

shows conclusively that the vast majority of the citizens lived i
gantic tenements (*insulae*) ranged along narrow, unlighted str
under sanitary conditions very far short indeed of the optimistic vi
so often indulged in by nineteenth-century scholars. In this res
Pompeii, a product of totally different conditions, has been seri
misleading. The metropolis, in M. Carcopino's view, was far less
Pompeii than a Moorish city of the 15th century: "cette Rome
tique et terre-à-terre, artiste et charnelle, s'en va rejoindre loin de n
sans gêne et sans honte, jusqu'au fond du Maghreb, l'époque des M
nides."

This comparison illustrates very well the peculiar quality of
book as a whole. Equally original, if perhaps less obviously impres
is the comparison drawn between Pliny the Younger and Petron
grotesque hero Trimalchio—a startling juxtaposition indeed,
one which succeeds excellently in impressing on the reader the
that Pliny was an enormously wealthy man. There can surel
few men about whom it is harder to find anything new to say
Pliny, but M. Carcopino, with his fascinating sketch of the relat
between the prim and ageing lawyer and his adored young wife, succ
admirably in doing so. On details of almost trifling magnitude,
as the ordeal of shaving without soap, as practised by the Roman
is equally vivid, and nothing is more characteristic than the ca
manner in which he deduces all the social consequences of this s
economic defect. Altogether this is a book which can be confid
recommended, not only to the scholar seeking knowledge, but to
educated reader in search of high-class entertainment. M.

Fiction

PHILIP. By Joseph O'Neill. London: Gollancz. 1940. 447
9s. 6d.

Philip is the son of a Jewish father and a Greek mother. Bor
Jerusalem he leaves that city while still a boy to live with his mo
at Athens. He there receives a Greek education and specialises in
study of medicine. Convinced, however, of the inanity of the G
divinities which he had worshipped, he returns as a young man
his kinsfolk in Jerusalem in the hope that he will there discover
meaning of life. The story opens with his arrival in the holy cit
the beginning of the last year of the life of Christ. There his fa
connections, engaging personality and medical skill bring him
direct contact with the various parties and factors in the history
that fateful year. And thus the story of Philip's quest for the mea
of life gives us a vivid picture of life at Jerusalem at this period an
description of the movement of events which supplements the b
outlines of the Gospel narrative.

As a novel *Philip* is undoubtedly a success. The characters are ·ly depicted, the movement is rapid, and the interest of the reader ell sustained to the end. It has not the glamour of *Ben-Hur*, h is largely derived from the description of incidents of the pagan d like the sea-fight and the chariot race. But it is more psycholo- and more informative and gives a better picture of Jewish life character.

There is one point, however, in which this picture is quite unhis- al. A Messianic party opposed alike to the Romans and the Jewish ocrats is represented as domiciled in the poorest quarter of Jerusa- and as waging a kind of guerilla warfare with the Roman legionaries. e warriors, who are led by John Bar-Hillel, a man of high character, count Barabbas among their chief fighters, expect hourly the call Christ to drive out the Romans and establish a Messianic kingdom. n the call does not come at what they consider the opportune ient and they in consequence suffer a heavy reverse from the forces ilate, they turn against Christ and demand His crucifixion. Though author makes it clear that this party does not represent the real hing of Christ as understood by His true followers, one is reminded itably of the recent theory of the Jew, Robert Eisler, according to m Christ was put to death by the Romans, without any Jewish vention, as the unwilling leader of a Messianic revolt. Critics of chools have rejected this theory as unsupported by evidence and oncilable with historic facts. Its appearance even in a diluted in the story of Philip is to be regretted, as it falsifies the historical ng which gives the book its chief interest. E. P.

History

SPANISH BASQUES AND SEPARATISM. By Marquis Merry del Val, G.C.V.O. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1939. 1s.

GLORY OF MARTYRED SPAIN. By Luis Carrera. Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1939. 6s.

IN, THE CHURCH AND THE ORDERS. By E. Allison Peers. London: Eyre & Spottiswode. 1939. 10s. 6d. net.

NEW STATE. By Victor Pradera. London: Sands. 1939. 8s. 6d.

ST apologise for the tardiness of this review of books all meriting ediate recognition. The delay is all the more unfortunate because, ne interval, events have happened which will distract attention anything but the monstrous conflagration now spreading like a t fire and engulfing nation after nation in its flaming vortex. or all that, it would be a pity and a loss if no further heed were

paid to the recent ordeal of Spain. First, because it has its connec with the larger tragedy; secondly, because it can sustain our f in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice to realise that the Cit Mansoul can be held against the rudest assaults. Spain has been save " but so as by fire," to use St. Paul's words. Europe too may ye saved by its very tribulations.

Marquis Merry del Val's pamphlet exposes the wiliest manoeu of Del Vayo's propaganda to pervert the issues in the Iberian cont Probably nothing so influenced outside opinion against the White Spain as the alliance of Basque Separatism with what on the sur looked its very antithesis, Red Internationalism. And certa nothing was more exploited by Left Wing writers than this anom For " Pink " intellectuals everywhere it was a sheer godsend. T could veil their morbid dislike of all things Catholic and traditi under a pretence of zeal for suppressed nationalities striving to be fr

Marquis Merry del Val puts the tragedy of the Basque people into a false position by an impossible dream, in its proper perspect Euzkadi never was on sea or land. It would have been in extent ab as large as Antrim and Down combined, a statelet even more ridicu than the Orange Wee State of six counties. In a few years it m necessarily have conformed to Sovietism triumphant in the rest Spain or been liquidated. Prieto, the fox of Spanish politics, abused the simplicity of the Basque extremists. He had fooled th with promises which he could not have fulfilled in case of vict even if he had the desire to keep faith with them. There is somet pathetic in the naiveté and blindness shown by so many of this ami and admirable little group of mountain clans. But not by all, nearly all. The Basques of Navarre and Alava were not only with the Euzkadi group, but were among the fiercest of their oppone All that the pious Aguirre has done has been to destroy the solida and jeopardise the future of his people. It is an impressive lesso the dangers of fanatical nationalism divorced from reason blind to the larger issues involved.

The Glory of Martyred Spain is a tribute to the memory of hundreds of thousands of priests, religious and lay christians immola by the anti-God madness which is so widespread to-day in many lan It does not lay claim to completeness, but is a preliminary attempt establish the facts as far as the author could do so by personal exami tion and research. He feels, very rightly, that it is necessary to res them from distortion or exaggeration. A Golden Legend would o blur the historical outlines of events and enable future critics to c doubt upon the terrible reality. The truth, the whole truth, and noth but the truth is the best service that any Spanish writer can r render to his country. Luis Carrera feels this and acts according

does not prevent his pages from throbbing with drama, tragic of se, but also at times touching the summits of sublimity. His has permanent value as well as contemporary interest.

Professor Allison Peers has already done such signal service to in the English-speaking world that it seemed hardly possible ould increase his contribution, yet in *Spain, the Church and the rs* he has given us what is from many points of view his most rtorious work. There is a nobility, a sense of Christian sympathy, l for truth in this book which does credit to the heart of the writer. animated by the *pietas* of old Pagan Rome as well as by the higher ity which Christ introduced into the world. Professor Allison s experienced, in his long years of study in Spain, that courtesy hospitality for which the country has always been famous (Writers l shades acknowledge this trait in the people). His studies brought into intimate contact with churchmen of every kind and made conversant with the Spanish church in the present and the past. gh a stranger, differing from it on many points of doctrine, with nglishman's inherited prejudices against certain of its character- s, he has yet conceived a high opinion of its fervour, piety and lty to the cause of Christ.

But he is no mere eulogist. He has criticisms to make which, ing from such a source, merit the serious consideration not only panish Catholics but of Catholics everywhere. He thinks that Church in the peninsula was unduly conservative and somewhat eral in outlook. It did not move with the times or show the power daptation to new environment which was necessary. That it plenty of reason for suspecting the " liberalism " of the Masonic ges and the politicians is admitted. But it might, according to essor Peers, have done more to sift the wheat from the chaff and y its flocks forward to a true progress while safeguarding the tra- nal values of which it was the custodian.

When, however, he comes to the sweeping indictments with which are familiar in the press of English-speaking lands—particularly he envenomed pages of Leftist authors—this highly qualified ess meets them with emphatic denial and complete refutation. proves conclusively that the Spanish Church of the nineteenth twentieth centuries, so far from being corrupted by wealth, was y crippled by poverty; so far from exploiting the people and ing them in ignorance, it was their greatest benefactor and their t successful educator, doing its best to make good the failure of state alike in social reform and education.

ncidentally, Professor Allison Peers increases our knowledge of quite striking contribution made by clerics to learning in all its ches, and brings to notice dozens of names of men whose modesty

has kept their light a little hidden or under a bushel. We shall
have to revise our judgments on the Church of Spain—in its fav
It didn't advertise; American methods are quite foreign to the ra
temperament; when to this is added the practice of humility, it is obvi
that the achievements of the Church will not be easily grasped
passing tourists and superficial observers. That they were far gre
than the outer world believed emerges clearly from these pa
Spain, the Church and the Orders takes a worthy place beside the ot
works of Professor Allison Peers. No library should be without i

Victor Pradera was one of the victims of the Red pogroms. It
inevitable once he fell into their hands; for he had been a leade
the Traditionalists, elected by Navarre as its representative in 19
and had won prominence among the patriotic young intellectu
working for the rebirth of Spain. *The New State* and the *Hispani*
of Maetzu may be said to constitute the political bible of the Renova
National. It is an emphatic repudiation of the nineteenth cent
democratic liberalism, yet it differs radically from the doctrines
Nazism, Fascism and Russian Communism. It approximates clos
to the teaching of Salazar, with which it can be most profitably co
pared. Pradera is less lucid and serene than the Portuguese Pri
Minister. His style is more rhetorical and involved. His thou
has not the clarity, the restraint, the sense of measure and practi
sagacity which make the ex-professor of Coimbra unique among stat
men of to-day.

Yet the Spaniard is also a profound and original thinker, rooted
the same great tradition as Salazar. He draws his inspiration from
same sources and arrives at nearly identical conclusions. If he rev
from the demagogic ideology of Rousseau, he justifies his revolt by
searching examination and disproof of Rousseau's political theori
Indeed one cannot help wondering how those theories, in view of th
intrinsic weakness, ever influenced the evolution of society as th
have done. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the famo
" Age of Reason " was just an extreme example of *lucus a non lucen*
It was called the age of reason, because reason was in abeyance a
a boudoir sentimentalism had replaced not only religion but inte
gence in the conduct of affairs.

It is when Pradera comes to the constructive side of his work th
he is less satisfactory or convincing. He is not wrong; he is inde
quite right as far as he goes. But he does not envisage all the difficulti
with the cold objectivity of Salazar. He insists upon the orga
nature of the state as against the conventional and factitious conceptio
Nations grow, and authority emerges with their growth. The proce
itself safeguards both the rights of rulers and the liberties of the subject
as in a living organism the very principle of life determines the tr

tion of part to whole and of part to part. As in the family authority
its rights and duties resides in the parents—especially in the father—
atural law, so in the state the charter to rule, with the obligation to
ect and serve, is conferred by God on those whose duty it is to
rn.

All this is easy enough. The crux of the whole matter is how
isely a given monarch, president or executive comes into legitimate
ession of authority. To a certain extent Pradera evades, or only
ially meets, this difficulty. He does not defend " the divine right
ings," and he certainly sets up no totalitarian ideal of a divinised
guided by apotheosed leaders. Yet he leaves us a little at a loss
now just exactly how authority, obviously divine in origin, rightly
es to those now in possession. He leaves us to assume that the
ous nations, in their historical development, find in time the systems
apted by the genius and character of the race. It would seem as if
fic acceptation and submission of the people is sufficient expression
ie justice of the rule. But this is no mathematical summation of
votes or majority rule. It is rather the result of historic
lution ; and with this, as far as Pradera is concerned, we must be
ent.

Obviously the riddle of the Sphinx has not been completely solved
ur author. Yet I have done him grave injustice if I have suggested
he may be lightly set aside. On the contrary his book deserves
ful study, and much that he writes will certainly have to enter
any final solution of a problem now seen to be one of life and
h, yet still waiting not so much its theoretical formulation as its
tical application to the baffling psychology of man. For the
lem now is two-fold : state authority within and international
ions without. These have hitherto always, in the last analysis,
settled by force, by the mailed fist. Can a substitute be found
how ?—that is the question. The only conceivable doctrine on
h an adequate answer might rest is the Christian philosophy of
embraced whole-heartedly by all. And thus the *adveniat regnum*
of the Our Father becomes imperative on the lips of states-
. Will they utter it ? Time alone can tell. Up to the present
prayer has been : *Adveniat regnum meum.* The results we behold.

P. J. Gannon

E GOLDEN MIDDLE AGE. By Roger Lloyd. London : Longmans. 1939. 10s. 6d.

s book is a collection of six short studies, centring round the attrac-
figure of England's medieval humanist, John of Salisbury. Canon
d dedicates his book to Miss Helen Waddell, and some quotations
her *Wandering Scholars* are inevitably included in a chapter on

"Schools and Scholars." Indeed there is no pretence at orig scholarship in these studies, which are frankly the fruit of an amat readings in modern books about the Middle Ages. They make plea reading, as any book about John of Salisbury and his friends is ap make pleasant reading. Here and there one cannot escape the un feeling that Canon Lloyd, picking his way through the latest En works on medieval history, is too little familiar with the medi scene as a whole. Almost all the quotations, both of prose and ve are given at secondhand from modern English translations. verse of a goliardic poet is given in Latin (p. 155), but is disfig by two glaring misprints.

The final chapter on the Church is particularly disappoint John of Salisbury, himself an archdeacon, was brought into con mainly with the worldly-minded and the ambitious; and his att on the Roman curia and on the monks and prelates of his day definitely one-sided. Canon Lloyd warns his readers of the fact, adds nothing of his own to correct the impression conveyed by string of sharp quotations. And his own chief complaint against Church of the twelfth century is so curious as a specimen of twent century Anglican clericalism that it is worth quoting in f "The thing needed most was that the Church should make the civil invincible by its redemption of highly placed tyranny and brutal and set the poets and scholars free to make their contribution effec in terms of the common life of the age." I am still puzzled to de mine the exact meaning of these phrases, but of one thing I am cert The man who gives this definition of the Church's task in any ag not the man to understand the century of St. Bernard and St. Br and St. Thomas of Canterbury, of the Crusaders and Barbarossa the romantic heroes of Spain. A. G

English Literature

TRADITION AND ROMANTICISM. By B. Ifor Evans. Lond Methuen. 1940. Pp. 213. 6s.

THE question we have come to ask first about a critical book is: un which flag? revolutionary or conservative? classic (which now usua goes with revolutionary) or romantic? Wild men, pressing out front of their leader Mr. Eliot, have scalped great writers, epochs them, with the anti-romantic war-cry. Housman and his few h been ruthless towards everything called classic. Poetical orthodox ingenious and petty, are worked out annually in the camps, and great of the past are judged by them and condemned. Mr. Ev thinks that the war-path is not the right road for a critic, and he precates flags. English poetry, he says, has a long tradition, l

ted by literary revolutions than the poetic tradition of any other try. It has grown naturally and spontaneously, and English s have hardly ever written to a programme or founded a "move- ." Romanticism has at all times been a part of this tradition never dominated it. Pope was not the sole voice of the age that nly be called merely classic by refusing to hear his contemporaries. lsworth is called by many "leader of the romantic revolt," but at title had been offered to him he would at first not have known it meant, and then refused it; for his revolt was against, as much ything else, the encroachment upon literature of a shoddy roman- n in the late eighteenth century. How unhistorical then is the frequent use of the word romantic to discredit half the poets; hem romantic, use the word in the special and chiefly continental of exaggeration and spiritual disease, and the job is done.

Mr. Evans's argument naturally enough leads him to giving us a h of the history of English poetry—brief and incomplete but wise excellent. We glimpse with him Chaucer's wide sympathies social and literary, establishing the great tradition—his one ation being a disdain for certain native forms, which killed *Piers man* and so perhaps doomed to artifice and failure all subsequent attempts except Milton's.

Mr. Evans gives in fuller outline the long downward curve. espeare and his fellows did their supreme work just in time. Then the blight of Baconian rationalism, to be renewed in the worse ies of Hobbes and Locke. Bacon patronisingly enclosed poetry e pleasant places, remote from the real life of man, wherein with ser it had freely wandered. The rational was the true, poetry falsehood, excusable because pretty and not serious. Thus was ie cheated of being a great poet. Wanting to be serious, he up his birthright of dreams and stories, and tried to be a scientist oetry, an analyst instead of a creator; and he is a creator only use analysis, attempted by a poet, will produce queer half-poetical ts—the queerness being half fun, half torture, never the pure e mood. Cowley, more facile minded, thought that to reconcile y and science was easy, that it was solved by the rhetorical fying of facts.

When thus the spheres of English poetry were all but untuned urring atoms, there came that great erratic planet Milton. He eapt with scorn the dull confines set to poetry by Hobbes, as his Satan did the walls of Paradise. He asserted and proved by iple all the truth about poetry; that it should be "simple, sensuous passionate," that it is no siren daughter of memory but something and divine. The mythologies, the great style, all that had been Milton recovered—except the complete freedom from self-

consciousness which was irrecoverable. What followed? A centu far from poor in poetry, with elements both classic and romant so much threatened still by rationalism that it could not vent far beyond the protecting shade of Milton's example.

Wordsworth makes the next great move and finds a modern ba for poetry. In a more divided society and a philosophic atmosph as unfavourable as ever, he cannot create large fables embody general human nature and action, and he invents (what Milton h partly anticipated) the one-man poem, setting forth the experie of the individual. And this example served many poets. But alrea in Wordsworth's own day the one-man poem was undermined a doomed to further fragmentation. For "in Coleridge's criticism t poet becomes self-conscious in relation to his art, seeking to anal within himself how his imagery has developed, or what governs responses to the experience from which the poem is fashioned." Co ridge was a forerunner of the modern mind, which falls into his temp tion to be an excited audience of its own functionings. "Such state is far removed from mental innocence, and it makes many the older and simpler conceptions of poetry impossible. Coleri who sought the unity of experience, served to give the whole of perience this refraction. Not that this affects poetry in the cent of his death, but in the twentieth century we have come up to ghost-haunted figure and had to share the burden of his speculatio This leads Mr. Evans on to an acute examination of the contempor paralysis of poetry.

My outline of the book may suggest that it is a sad story of dec and fall. But that is not at all Mr. Evans's tone. He is cheer having "God's plenty" before him; he writes extremely well Gray, Keats, Shelley, Browning, Hopkins, Yeats and others, who co all be good poets whatever troubles were pressing in upon poe itself. His cheerfulness about the future, though perhaps ground rather on faith than reason, is welcome. J. J. H.

TEN VICTORIAN POETS. By F. L. Lucas. Cambridge U versity Press. 1940. Pp. 202. 7s. 6d.

Ten Victorian Poets is Mr. Lucas's *Eight* of 1930, with Patmore a Christina Rossetti added; before that again it was a set of B.B. talks. Hopes about broadcasting were high just then. It might be cultural and unifying force, bringing the intellectual and the art once more into contact with the people, to the benefit of both. A perhaps such hopes have had some fulfilment, and may have more.

Mr. Lucas hits the right technique, I think. He has less spa than a lecturer, and knows that his audience is much more gener He supposes therefore no great knowledge, but he does suppose i

nce and does not talk down. Wisely, he builds each study around
' biography, props one of the series against another by comparison,
uotes a good deal and well. Thus he discharges the seemingly
sible task of talking profitably for half an hour to people who know
everything and to people who know nothing about the subject.
oes not doubt that intelligent listeners who did not know the
ian poets were moved to read them, and thus gained some little
m from modern " barbarism and science." Those who do know
ets are gainers too by these brief discourses ; for brevity is in-
he soul of wit and its stimulus has compelled Mr. Lucas to a fine
on and vividness in the biographical episodes, in his judgments,
critical phrases.

nnyson's silent years after the death of Hallam are neatly
ed thus : " From the poet's chimney silently ascended an end-
crificial smoke of tobacco and burning poetry." Browning's
sant style is ascribed to a strain of vulgarity—" that assertive-
f the self-made man who thinks to brazen out lack of breeding
k of manners." This again is good upon one of Arnold's defiances
e and fortune : " There is surely something more spirited here
Tennyson's vague gropings for the larger hope ; something less
portant than Browning's greeting the unseen with a cheer,
seems to me too like putting a paper-hat on the Sphinx." And
this is why Victorian literature needed that great Italian Ros-
" The English writers of this age tended to have too much
ence and too little artistic conscience." Mr. Lucas is an excellent
and this is one of his best books. As the sonnet helps many
to concentrate, so may the broadcast talk with lecturers and
sts. The sonnet again notoriously shows up vacuity. But
ucas passes the parallel test ; he is light and witty, but he has it
mind that poetry is a criticism of life. J. J. H.

TEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH LITERATURE AND TS CULTURAL BACKGROUND. A Bibliography. By ames E. Tobin, Ph.D. New York : Fordham University Press. 939. Pp. 190. $2.00.

OBIN is Associate Professor of English at Fordham. His book is dy but reasonably full and very careful summary of eighteenth y literature and the subsequent criticism of it. It is useful ally, of course, for its survey of recent American work, but hardly o for what has been done on this side of the Atlantic since the ridge History bibliographies were made. Dr. Tobin asks for f errors and omissions, and perhaps this is the best thing a reviewer o ; it may at the same time give the reader an idea of the scope e book.

Addison: a good essay by Mrs. Woolf is missed (*The Com Reader*, 1; and part 2 of this should be given for Chesterfield Sterne). Blake: add Patmore, *Principle in Art*, and Tillyard, *P Direct and Oblique*. The latter should be mentioned under Goldsr also; it has only a few pages about both, but worth many long ess Boswell: add Strachey, *Portraits in Miniature*. Burke: two cap things are omitted—what Hazlitt said of Burke, in more than place, and what Arnold said (chiefly in the essay on "The Functio Criticism"); Mackintosh might have been mentioned too. Broo Dr. W. J. Lawrence's book is missed. Burns: add Grierson's p "The Problem of the Scottish Poet" in *Ess. and Stud. of the Eng Association*, vol. 21, one of the best things ever written on Bu Collins: add F. R. Leavis, *Revaluation*. Cowper: add L. He *Interpretations of Literature*, which should be given for Crabbe Fielding: add Chesterton's essay in *On Anything*. Gibbon: ad this weak entry Coleridge in his *Table Talk*, Bagehot's *Estimation Criticism*, Sainte-Beuve's paper in the *Lundis*, York Powell (*Rem* vol. 2), J. M. Robertson, and Strachey (*Portraits in Miniature*). Ke his periodical essays deserve mention with his plays. A. Murp add Hazlitt, *Comic Writers*, Dobson, *Eighteenth Century Vigne* and the Garrick Correspondence. Pope: add Mr. C. Williams's books, *The English Poetic Mind* and *Reason and Beauty*; Lea *Revaluation*, and Ker's essay in *The Art of Poetry*. Sterne: Go fine essay should be given (*Selected Essays*). Swift: Mr. Lynd's *of Letters* contains essays on Swift and other writers of the cen that deserve record. Walpole: add Strachey, *Characters and C mentaries*.

There are some rather unexpected omissions, including a g many Irish names. One may be resigned to lose O'Keeffe, O'Le Cunningham, Dermody, though the presence of Stephen Duck mak a little hard. But why leave Berkeley out? Surely not on the gro that he is a mere philosopher or theologian or patriot, or a mere a thing else? And Grattan?—the second name probably to Bur in the eighteenth century literary art of oratory. J. J. H

(*The list of books received has been unavoidably held over*)

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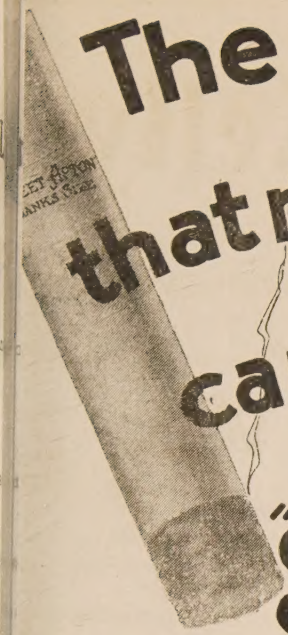

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